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A
SUPPLEMENT
TO
Dr. SWIFT'S
WORKS:

CONTAINING
MISCELLANIES IN PROSE AND VERSE,
BY THE DEAN;
DR. DELANY, DR. SHERIDAN, MRS. JOHNSON,
AND OTHERS, HIS INTIMATE FRIENDS.
WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES
ON ALL THE FORMER VOLUMES,
AND AN INDEX, BY THE EDITOR.
IN THREE VOLUMES.

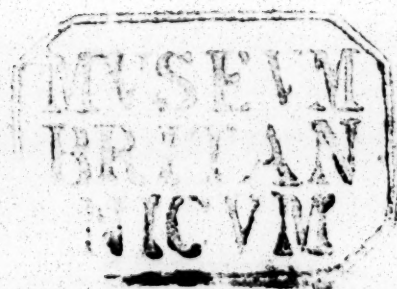
VOLUME THE FIRST.

"Whoever in the three kingdoms has any books at all,
has SWIFT." CHESTERFIELD.

"I verily think, there are few things he ever wrote, that
he did not wish to be published at one time or other."
DELANY.

L O N D O N,
PRINTED FOR J. NICHOLS:
SOLD BY H. PAYNE, PALL-MALL;
AND N. CONANT, FLEET-STREET.

MDCCLXXIX.



A
S U P P L E M E N T
T O
S W I F T ' S W O R K S .
I N T H R E E V O L U M E S .

M D C C L X X I X .

* * This SUPPLEMENT forms the TWENTY-FIFTH, TWENTY-SIXTH, and TWENTY-SEVENTH, of the Collection. The former volumes may be had, either in complete Setts, or in the different parts in which they originally appeared; *viz.*

The FIRST TWELVE, as published by Dr. HAWKESWORTH, in 1760; and again in 1767.

The THIRTEENTH and FOURTEENTH, by Mr. BOWYER, in 1762; reprinted in 1767.

The FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH, and SEVENTEENTH, by DEANE SWIFT, Esq. 1765. These were reprinted in FOUR VOLUMES, 1767, by Mr. TONSON; who prefixed to them the "History of the Four last Years of the Queen," the FIFTEENTH Volume as the Sett now stands; and added the Index of J. NICHOLS to the EIGHTEENTH.

The THREE FIRST volumes of Letters (vol. 19—21), by Dr. HAWKESWORTH, 1766. Of these volumes there have been frequent editions; all of which, however, are deficient in the particulars now supplied. See vol. XXVI. p. 237—304.

The NEXT THREE (vol. 22—24), by DEANE SWIFT, Esq. 1767. These also have been often reprinted.

Dr. SWIFT'S WORKS are now COMPLETE:

- I. In FOURTEEN VOLUMES, QUARTO.
- II. In TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES, LARGE OCTAVO.
- III. In TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES, SMALL OCTAVO.
- IV. In TWENTY SEVEN VOLUMES, XVIII^o.

✎ The LATTER VOLUMES, in any of the sizes, may be purchased separately, to complete Setts.

The SUPPLEMENT is entered at Stationers-hall.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ADDITIONS to the Works of an Author already esteemed too voluminous, it is acknowledged, should be made with caution. The Editor, however, with confidence relies on the merit as well as the authenticity of his materials; and, if any particular article which has been admitted should appear liable to objection, will rest his appeal on the real motive for entering on a task not unattended with labour—a desire of preserving those scattered materials without which the Works of SWIFT can never be completed: an event the world has long had some reason to expect from the person in every respect best qualified for such an undertaking. “Many of the “Doctor’s *best writings*” (says the worthy guardian * of his kinsman’s fame), “*long since printed*,” are not to be met with in any collection of his “Works.” The pieces now presented to the Reader are exactly under this predicament; and some of them are part of what Mr. *Swift* alludes to. Many of them are admirable; some of them indifferent; and some, perhaps, rather below mediocrity.

In the state in which the Dean’s Writings at present stand, the Editor flatters himself, he shall not

* *Deane Swift*, Esq; in an advertisement prefixed to the Twenty-second Volume.

be censured for what is added. He does not pretend to say, that the whole ought to be adopted in a regular edition: yet, whenever such a work shall be actually undertaken, he doubts not but the present volume will be considered as an interesting part of it; and at the same time will be a proper appendage to all preceding editions; being strictly, what it professes to be, a Collection of Miscellanies, by Dr. *Swift* and his most intimate Friends.

The first part consists of several scarce 'tracts, originally published in that memorable period *the Four last Years of the Queen*: some of which are avowedly the Dean's, though hitherto they have never appeared under his name; and others are ascribed to him, on *his own* authority, either as having written a part of them, or at least as having suggested the hints.

As the sound politician and indefatigable champion of *Ireland*, our Author already stands unrivaled. But, when we consider him as the *confidential friend* * of an able ministry involved in perpetual *disputes* †, in vain do we look amongst his

* See particularly his Letter to lord *Oxford*, June 14, 1737.—And see an ample vindication of the Dean, from an injurious charge of two noble writers, in p. 106, 107, of the present volume.

† "My Letters will at least be a good history, to shew you the steps of this change," says Dr. *Swift* to *Stella*, on an interesting event, Dec. 9, 1711.—And again, "My Letters would be good memoirs, if I durst venture to say a thousand things that pass." March 14, 1712-13.

Mrs. *Pilkington* tells us, *Swift* cut out the leaves from a very fine book, containing a translation of *Horace's* Epistles; and gave her two drawers full of Letters to paste into the covers, with liberty

his Works for the writings which exalted him to such consequence. The *Examiners* excepted, they are thinly scattered through the collection, and far inferior in number to what might naturally be expected from the pen of so ready a writer. Like *Virgil's* mariners,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto!

That he was not idle in that busy period, a slight perusal of the Journal to *Stella* will demonstrate; and what is here collected may be considered as a specimen of his labours.

It is much to be lamented indeed that he did not follow the advice given him in the year 1733: "I have long had it at heart," says his friend Mr. Ford, "to see your Works collected, and published with care. It is become absolutely ne-

liberty to read as she went on. The first which came to hand, she says, "was a letter from lord *Bolingbroke*, dated *six o'clock in the morning*. It begins with a remark, how differently that hour appeared to him now, rising cool, serene, and temperate, to contemplate the beauties of nature, to what it had done in some former parts of his life, when he was either in the midst of excesses, or returning home sated with them. He proceeded to describe the numberless advantages with which temperance and virtue bless their votaries, and the miseries which attend a contrary cause. The epistle was pretty long, and the most refined piece of moral philosophy I ever met with, as indeed every one of his were; and I had the unspeakable delight of reading several of them. Nor can I be at all surprized that Mr. *Pope* should so often celebrate a genius, who, for sublimity of thought, and elegance of style, had few equals.—The rest of the Dean's correspondents were, the Lady *Masbam*, the earl of *Oxford*, Dr. *Aiterbury*, bishop *Burnet*, Lord *Bathurst*, Mr. *Addison*, Archdeacon *Parnell*, Mr. *Congreve*, Mr. *Pulteney*, Mr. *Pope*, and Dr. *Arbutnot*." If Mrs. *Pilkington's* testimony is to be relied on, and there seems but little reason to doubt in this case the truth of her assertion, this is evidently a different collection of Letters from any that hath yet been printed.

“cessary, since that jumble with *Pope*, &c. in
 “three volumes, which put me in a rage when-
 “ever I meet with them *. I know no reason
 “why, at this distance of time, the *Examiners*,
 “and *other political papers* written in the Queen’s
 “reign, might not be inserted. I doubt you
 “have been too negligent in keeping copies † :
 “but *I have them bound up, and most of them*
 “*single besides*. I lent Mr. *Corbet* ‡ that paper to
 “correct his *Gulliver* § by ; and it was from it
 “that

* These form the *third* and *fourth* volumes of this collection ; and, as *Miscellanies*, have abundant merit : but, considered as *Swift’s Works*, they are an heterogeneous mixture, and want much reforming. The pieces by *Pope* and *Gay* are unnecessary, as most of them are already in the *Works* of their respective Authors ; and those of *Arbutnot*, excellent as they undoubtedly are, would much more properly appear in a publication distinct from *Swift’s* ; a task which the Editor of this Supplement has at present in contemplation.

† Mrs. *Whiteway*, in a letter to Mr. *Pope*, May 16, 1740, says, “A few years ago he burnt most of his writings unprinted, except a few loose papers which are in my possession, and which I promise you (if I outlive him) shall never be made public without your approbation. There is one Treatise in his own keeping, called *Advice to Servants*, very unfinished and incorrect ; yet what is done of it hath so much humour, that it may appear as a posthumous work. The History of the four last years of queen *Anne’s* reign, I suppose, you have seen with Dr. *King*, to whom he sent it some time ago, and, if I am rightly informed, is the only piece of his (except *Gulliver*) which he ever proposed making money by, and was given to Dr. *King* with that design.”

‡ Afterwards Dean of *St. Patrick’s*.

§ In Dr. *Hawkesworth’s* Preface to the First Volume of this Collection, many instances of errors in the *Irish* edition of *Gulliver* are selected as proofs that the Dean could never have consented to Mr. *Faulkner’s* publication. The faults pointed out are certainly very gross ones ; but are, however, of such a nature, as might easily have been occasioned by the inattention of a printer,

“that I mended my own. There is every single
“alteration from the original copy; and the
“printed book abounds with all those errors
“which should be avoided in the new edition.”

Had Dr. *Swift* attended to this advice, the present publication would undoubtedly have been superseded; or, could the Editor have obtained the collection * so diligently made by Mr. *Ford*, it would have been a collateral proof of authenticity, and have probably increased the number now known of the Dean's political pamphlets. Those which are here printed are all which the Editor has met with; and each of them is separately left to vouch for its own excellence, and

a printer, though he had the advantage of the Dean's corrected copy; for instance, *disease* for *decease*, *rules* for *ruelles*, &c. These are merely typographical blunders. And when we consider that the Dean only permitted Mr. *Faulkner* to print his Work “because it was out of his power to hinder him,” it will be the less surprizing that errors should have escaped. It would be illiberal, however, not to give Mr. *Faulkner's* own account of this matter, as it stands, in 1768, in a note on the above-cited passage of Mr. *Ford*. “In the *London* as well as in the *Dublin* editions of *Gulliver's Travels* were several mistakes and blunders. Mr. *Motte*, the *English* bookseller, having given the transcript from the original manuscript to the Reverend Mr. *Tooke*, to prepare it for the press, he made some alterations in the work, at which Dr. *Swift* was much offended: but before *Faulkner* printed the first four volumes of *Swift's* works, which he made *Faulkner* read to him, to prepare them for the press, he then corrected all the blunders in former editions, and particularly in *Gulliver's Travels*, as may be seen in the advertisement prefixed to that volume. Dr. *Swift* was pleased to give the original manuscript of this work to *Faulkner*, which is now in his possession.”—If this be the case, a careful collation of the present *English* editions with the *Irish* would be the best method of attaining exactness.

* This collection, we have been informed, is now in the possession of *Deane Swift*, esq.

for the authority on which it has been admitted into this volume.

The Corrections in the "*Journal to Stella*," are too material to pass totally unnoticed. It may be sufficient, however, at present, to refer to the page cited in the note below *, for the motive of undertaking the collation; an employment which proved equally pleasant and laborious.

The *Characters* extracted from the Dean's MS. "Notes on *Macky* †" are sufficiently authenticated, and add value to the Supplement.

The *Biographical Anecdotes* ‡ cannot fail of being acceptable.

The lighter prose parts of the collection have been selected, by various accidents, from different sources. For a few of them, the Editor readily acknowledges himself indebted to Mr. *Faulkner*; to whose diligence the reader is also obliged for

* Printed in vol. XXVI. p. 237—304.

† See p. 96.

‡ On what authority those Anecdotes depend, see p. xvii. The kindness of a respectable gentleman has enabled us to add to them the following Extract from the Registry of the College of *Dublin*:

1682. 24 April. *Jonathan Swift*, filius *Jonathan Swift*; natus annos quatuordecim; natus in comitatu *Dubliniensi*; educatus sub ferulâ mag. *Rydar*. Tutor *St. George Ashe*. So that Dr. *Harkesworth* is mistaken, both in p. 6. and p. 11. when he says, that *Swift* went into the College of *Dublin* in 1681. He did not, it appears, enter till April 1682.

Smedley, whose name is rendered immortal by *Swift*, entered the College of *Dublin* about five years afterwards, as appears from the same registry:

1687. *Jonathan Smedley*, Penf. fil. *Johan*. ann. 18; natus *Dublinii*; educ. sub ferulâ Mag. *Burbuck*. Tutor *Ben. Scroggs*.

Sir *William Temple*, it is thought, was never master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, as Dr. *Harkesworth* asserts in p. 11. His father was.

many

many of the ADDITIONAL LETTERS*; and for some entertaining anecdotes, particularly in matters relative to *Ireland*. It may perhaps be objected against some of the articles which will be found throughout *Swift's* works, that they are too trifling, and were never intended by the Author for the eye of the publick. But it was thought it would be an agreeable entertainment to the Curious, to see how oddly a man of his great wit and humour could now and then descend to amuse himself with his particular friends. "His *bagatelles*," lord *Chesterfield* tells us, "are much more valuable than other people's;" an observation which will fully justify the publication of "*Swift's* Remarks on Dr. *Gibbs's* Psalms."

Many of the poetical essays are the Dean's, and all of them such as are immediately connected with his writings. Among these, the productions of Dr. *Delany* are particularly distinguished.

Facts and circumstances of a temporary nature are so soon forgotten, that little apology seems necessary for the number and minuteness of the Notes. It has ever been the Editor's opinion, that every book should include an explanation of the obscure and less known passages in it, without obliging the reader to refer to other sources of information. When it is considered that these helps are designed for the use of such as are not general readers, it is presumed those who are more informed will pardon the insertion of some circumstances, which to them may appear superfluous.

* On this article, the Editor still solicits the assistance of the curious.

Whenever the whole collection is properly methodized, some of them, which at present are absolutely necessary for the sake of connexion, will of course become useless.

It only remains that the Editor should return thanks to the respectable gentlemen who have so liberally honoured him with their communications; and particularly to the friend * whose assistance hath been of the most singular use to him in these researches, to whom he cannot sufficiently express his acknowledgements: yet with regret he owns, there are *still* some pieces by the Dean, which have eluded his most diligent researches. The titles of such as have by chance occurred to him are placed on the opposite leaf †; in hopes that if any gentleman is possessed of them, or of any other productions of the Dean, he shall be favoured with a copy, which may hereafter be added to these volumes.

March 31, 1779.

J. NICHOLS,

* Mr. Reed, of Staple Inn.

LIST

LIST OF DESIDERATA IN SWIFT'S WORKS.

1. "Ode to King *William* when in *Ireland*, 1690." See vol. XXVI. p. 125.
2. His Letter to the Bishop of *Killaloe*. See the note in p. xxiv. If this was ever printed, it must have been *in* or *before* the year 1708.
3. A Tract, "On Reading, and the Corruption of *Taffe* in Writing." See p. xxiv. If this was printed, it is probably alluded to in the *Journal to Stella*, Nov. 4, 1710. "I writ a pamphlet when I was last in *London*, that you and a thousand have seen, and never gueſt it to be mine." Oct. 12, he ſays, "They have fixt about fifty things on me ſince I came; I have printed but *three*." Q. What were they?
4. "A Ballad (full of puns) on the *Weſtmiſter* Election, 1710." See vol. XXVII. p. 202.
5. "*Dunkirk* ſtill in the Hands of the *French*, being a plain and true Diſcovery of a moſt notorious Falſehood, invented by Jacobites and Tories, that the Town of *Dunkirk* was lately delivered to the *Engliſh*. Price 1d." Advertiſed July 17. This and the *three* following are certainly part of the SEVEN PENNY PAPERS *Swift* mentions to *Stella*, Auguſt 7, 1711. "Peace and *Dunkirk*" was one of them. "*Teland's* Invitation to *Diſmal*" (printed in vol. XVIII. p. 97.) is another. The *ſeventh* is probably what is printed in this volume, p. 245.
6. "A Hue and Cry after *Diſmal*; being a full and true Account how a Whig Lord was taken at *Dunkirk* in the habit of a chimney-ſweeper, and carried before General *Hill*. Price 1d."
7. "It's out at laſt, or *French* Correſpondence clear as the Sun. Price 1d."
8. "A Dialogue upon *Dunkirk*, between a Whig and a Tory, on Sunday Morning the 6th Inſtant. Price 1d."
9. What means "gueſſing is mine," in the *Journal to Stella*, Nov. 7, 1710? and "Goodman *Peaſley* and *Iſaac*," Feb. 9, 1710-11?
10. Obſervations on a pamphlet, called "The Conduct of Lord Treafurer impartially conſidered." See p. xxvii.
11. He wrote in 1725 more papers againſt *Wood* than are printed. See p. xxvii.

12. "MS.

12. "MS. Scheme to Mr. *Pulteney*, about proper Measures to be followed by the Court." See p. xxxvii.
13. *Eleven Sermons* by Dr. *Swift* appear to have been in Mr. *Pope's* hands. See p. lxiv.
14. An original letter of the Dean's (unprinted) is in the possession of Lord *Dartrey* †. Mr. *York* of *Ertbig* has another ‡, containing a criticism on *Pope's Homer*. Three more to Miss *Waryng* § of *Belfast*, to whom *Swift* seriously paid his addresses, are existing.

Besides the above, it is highly probable that he wrote several political tracts, between the publication of the "Contests and Dissentions" in 1701, and his engaging in *The Examiner* in November 1708; and between the latter period and the queen's death, he was certainly author of many more pamphlets than are at present come to light.

† See vol. XXVII. p. 375.

‡ From the information of a gentleman of distinction.

§ One admirable letter to this lady is in vol. XXVI. p. 133.

This Supplement is entered at Stationers Hall.

C O N T E N T S

O F

THE FIRST VOLUME.

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES, p. xvii

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BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES OF DEAN SWIFT.

IN ADDITION TO
THE LIFE BY DR. HAWKESWORTH.

* * The papers whence most of the following articles are extracted were put into the hands of the Editor by a Friend, who had accidentally met with them without knowing by whom they were written; but are certainly the productions of a person well informed, and probably an intimate of the Dean's. They consist of an interleaved copy of Dr. *Hawkesworth's* "Life of *Swift*," with numerous corrections and additions in almost every page; and appear to have been written about July 1765. As the facts contained in them are curious, and have every internal mark of authenticity to recommend them, the Editor would have thought himself culpable in withholding from the Reader what he believes will afford both entertainment and information. The references correspond with the Life.

P. 2. l. 29. See some account of *Thomas Swift* in the *pedigree* printed in vol. XXVII. When vicar, he purchased an estate of £. 40 a year in *Goodrich*, called *The New Hall*, and rebuilt it *.

P. 5.

* The following is a genuine Extract, out of the Registry of the Consistory Court of the Diocese of *Hereford*.

BRIDSTOW } *Thomas Swift* Cl'ic' admiss' per *Franciscum*
Vicaria. } *Heref'* Ep'um ad Vicar' præd' decimo die
mensis *Aprilis*, Anno D'ni 1630, ad collac'o'em ejusd'm Ep'i
spectan'. Idem ordinat' Diacon' p' *Joh'em London'* Ep'um, 19 die
mensis *Decembr'*, A'o D'ni 1619.

Idem dispensat' p' D'num *Georgium Cant'* Archiep'um, 29^o
die mensis *Junii*, Anno D'ni 1631.

SUPPL. I. [XXV.]

c

GOTHERIDGE.

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P. 5. l. 16. *Add*, He retained his affection for *Whitehaven* to the last, as if it were his native place; and when one of his friends, who had spent a little time there in 1739, told him in the Spring following, that a merchant from thence, with his son and daughter, were then in *Dublin*, he invited them to dinner, and shewed them many civilities whilst they stayed in that city.

L. 25. He meant, that the being born in *Ireland* could be no opprobrium to any person of *English* extraction as he was. For, about the time of his birth, and indeed before, many of the best families there were either *English*, or were descended from *English* ancestors who had settled in that kingdom after the final reduction thereof about the end of queen *Elizabeth's* reign. He loved *Ireland*, and often spoke with pleasure of its excellent soil, fine climate, harbours, and many other natural advantages; yet he hated the old inhabitants, on account of their nastiness, and the laziness of their dispositions. Agreeable to which notion, he styled *Ireland*, in his private conversation, *optima terra, pessima gens*.

L. 33. *Add*, and had the register book of *St. Warburgh's* church searched, for an account of his baptism; but that entry and many others were omitted through the carelessness of the then vestry clerk.

P. 6. l. 2. *Read*, however, it appears, he received no favours from him; and such, &c.

GOTHERIDGE. Idem admiss' ad Vicar' de *Gotheridge* ad collac'o'em Ep'i *Hereford* spectan' p' *Franciscum* *Heref'* Ep'um, 27^o die mensis *Decembris*, A'o D'ni 1632; et li'at' ad præd' per *Georgium Cant'* Archiep'um 2^o *Novembris*, 1619."

In the chancel of *Goodrich* church is this inscription: "Here lieth the body of *Thomas Swift*, who died the 2d of *May* 1658, aged 62 years and 10 months. He was vicar of *Goodrich* 34 years." What he suffered for his loyalty may be seen at large in Mr. *Swift's* Essay. The pocket chalice, which he used during the civil wars, was given to the church of *Goodrich* by Dr. *Swift*, with this inscription: "*Thomas Swift*, hujus ecclesiæ vicarius, notus in historiis ob ea quæ fecit et passus est pro *Carolo* primo, ex hoc calice ægrotis propinavit. Eundem calicem *Jonathan Swift*, S. T. D. decanus ecclesiæ sancti *Patricii* *Dublin*. Thomæ ex filio nepos, huic ecclesiæ in perpetuum dedicat, 1726." *Sketch*, § 8.

P. 6.

P. 6. l. 10, 11. *Read*, At about the age of six years, he was sent to the public school or college of *Kilkenny*, as it is called, being a large building erected for that purpose, founded and endowed by the *Ormond* family. In the school-rooms his name still remains, as he cut it on the side-board of the seat of his class with his knife, after the custom of boys. And here he said he first learned, soon after he entered the school, these words, which he termed *Latino-Anglico*, "*Mi Dux, et amasti lux.*" This species of writing became afterwards one of those whimsical amusements with which he entertained himself in the decline of life. He continued at school about eight years; and at the age of fourteen, &c.

L. 32. *Read*, he was in danger of being refused his degree of bachelor of arts, for insufficiency in the different branches of philosophy; and was admitted *speciali gratiâ* only, along with some more of the same class, namely, *Nath. Jones, Jo. Jones, Mich. Vandeleur*, and *William Brereton*, with some degree of dishonour.

P. 7. l. 7. *Add*, He appears also to have intended to write *An Account of the Kingdom of Absurdities* about the same time, as appears from the following sketches, copied from his own hand:

"In the Kingdom of Absurdities. The bells of
 "glass, with iron clappers. The houses of gun-
 "powder; and as they are apt to get drunk, they
 "leave candles lighting, so that they have fires
 "very frequently. The children always die there
 "before their parents. There is a sort of flying
 "insect in their jakes, which has cruel teeth, and
 "is fond of human testicles; so that when a man
 "goes there upon his occasions, it is forty to one
 "but he comes away without them. Nothing is
 "so easy as to destroy those animals; and yet ask
 "the reason, why they do it not? they say, It was
 "their ancestors custom of old."

In the early editions of the *Tale of a Tub*, such a tract is mentioned, as intended by the anonymous author.

In the note, for Warren, read Waryng.—Swift's intimacy with this gentleman and his sister miss *Jane Waryng* continued several years afterwards. One admirable letter

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to that lady, dated *May 4, 1700*, is preserved in vol. XXVI. p. 133. by which it appears that *Swift* actually addressed her with a serious intention. Three other letters to her at *Belfast* are existing; though we have not been able to recover more of them than the dates; *Dec. 20, 1695*, from *Dublin*; *June 29, 1696*, and *Aug. 28, 1697*, from *Moor Park*.

P. 9. l. 27. After *Trent*, Add, "*Tertullian, Epiphanius, Diodorus Siculus, and Thucydides.*"

L. 30. Add, While he was at *Moor-park*, he kept an account one year of the books he read, in the following manner:

"From *Jan. 7, 1696-7.*

Lord Herbert's Harry VIII. fol.	Sir John Davis of the Soul. Conformité de Religion, &c.
Sleidan's Comment, ab- stracted, fol.	Dialogues des Morts, 2 vol. <i>Lucretius, ter.</i>
Council of Trent abstr. fol.	Histoire de Mr. Constance.
Virgil, bis.	Histoire d'Æthiopie.
Horace, 9 vol.	Histoire de Cotes, de, &c.
Sir W. Temple's Memoirs.	Diodorus Siculus, abstr. fol.
----- Introduction.	Cyprian and Irenæus, abstr. fol.
Camden's Elizabeth.	Voyage de Maroc, &c.
Prince Arthur.	Ælian, 1st vol.
Histoire de Chypre.	Homer, Iliad and Odyss.
Voyage de Syam.	Cicero's Epistles.
Voiture.	Bernier's Grand Mogol, 2 vol.
Memoires de Maurier.	Burnet's Hist. of Reform. fol.
Lucius Florus, ter.	Petronius Arbiter.
Collier's Essays, 2 vol.	Oeuvres Mêlées, 5 vol.
Count Gabalis.	

From *Jan. 7, 1697-8.*

Thucydides, by Hobbes, fol.	Theophrasti Characteres.
abstr.	Vossius de Sibyllinis."

No farther account remains of his studies at this time.—
It appears from another paper, that in *June* following Sir William began to decline in his health; but *Swift's* love and attention to him was such, that he kept a register of the variations which appeared in his constitution from *July 1, 1698*, to the 27th of *Jan.* following, when the
last

last note is, that "he died at one o'clock in the morning, and with him all that was great and good among men." This paper is intituled *Journal d'Etat de Mr. T— devant sa Mort*. Sir William did not live long enough to see this young genius preferred in the manner that he wished. That Swift had resigned his preferment in Ireland (the prebend of Kilroot) upon having the promise of having a better in England, appears from a letter of his sister*, May 26, 1699, who was then at her uncle Swift's in Bride street, Dublin. This lady (Jane Swift) was married about Dec. 13, 1699, to Joseph Fenton of the city of Dublin, as appears from the licence of that date, granted by the Dean of St. Patrick's (Dr. Jerom Ryves), in whose liberties she was then an inhabitant. She died in 1738, at which time the Dean put on mourning for her.

P. 12. l. 27. Dr. Winter, prebendary of Kilroot, printed a sermon, which he preached at St. Mary's, Dublin, May 30, 1714, "on the mischief of faction to church and state."

P. 13. l. 5. After K. William, instead of the conclusion of the paragraph, read, to whom he was personally known when his majesty honoured Sir William with his visits, as he was frequently pleased to do: at which times Swift often attended the king when he walked in the gardens; and was one day particularly instructed by him in the right manner of cutting asparagus according to the most approved method used in Holland. And it is certain that he received frequent remittances from his uncle William and his cousin William Swift, whilst he was at Moor Park. It appears that Swift had access to king William's ear at other times, beside that of his residence at Moor Park; for, in his letter concerning the repeal of the Sacramental Test, written in 1708, he says thus, "I remember, when I was last in England, I told the king, that the highest Tories we had with us (in Ireland) would make tolerable Whigs there (in England)." Now it is certain, that Swift was often in England from the death of Sir William Temple to 1708.

L. ult. Read, The secretary knew best how to please his patron, and gave a hint to Mr. Bolton's friends of the step

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fit for them to take; which advice being followed, the said deanry was given to Mr. *Bolton*, upon pretence that *Swift*, who was then more than thirty years old, was too young for such a post; and he received, instead of it, the two vicarages of *Laracor* and *Rathbeggan*, and rectory of *Augher*, which *Bolton* had, in the diocese of *Meath*; to which he received institution, *March 22*, 1699. But all these did not in value amount to one third part of that Deanry, even after his purchase (for 260*l.*) of the rectory tithes of one part of the parish, called *Effernock*, which he gave by his last will to his successors for ever. In his accompt-book he reckons the annual value of the said union about £. 230. and within the first year, from *March* 1699, to *Nov. 1*, 1700, the expence of his titles, rent, curate, &c. amounted to £. 117. He got the prebend of *Dunlavan*, in the chapter of *St. Patrick*, *Sept. 23*, 1700. Being in actual attendance as domestic chaplain to the earl of *Berkeley*, he got a dispensation from the bishop of *Meath* that year in *May*, for not reading his assent and consent at *Laracor* and *Rathbeggan* until the month of *June*, at which time he went through the necessary form.

P. 15. l 6. *Add*, While he had good health, he read prayers to his family; and when his deafness increased, his friends retired about ten o'clock, after which he spent some time in his private devotions, and made use of the Liturgy of the church as his pattern for prayer, turning such parts thereof to his own private occasions as he thought proper. His prayer-book (which a friend of his still has), being fouled with the snuff from his fingers, shews the parts of it which he most approved. The following is the form which he used in the pulpit, before his sermon; as copied from his own hand: "Almighty and
"most merciful God! forgive us all our sins. Give us
"grace heartily to repent them, and to lead new lives.
"Graft in our hearts a true love and veneration for thy
"holy name and word. Make thy pastors burning and
"shining lights, able to convince gainfayers, and to save
"others and themselves. Bless this congregation here
"met together in thy name; grant them to hear and re-
"ceive thy holy word, to the salvation of their own souls.
"Lastly, we desire to return thee praise and thanksgiving
"for all thy mercies bestowed upon us; but chiefly for
"the

“ the Fountain of them all, JESUS CHRIST our LORD,
 “ in whose name and words we further call upon thee,
 “ saying, *Our Father, &c.*”

P. 16. l. 12—14. This cannot be true. See his letters to Dr. *Tisdall*, who paid his addresses to her, but dreaded Dr. *Swift's* being his rival. It was in 1703 and 1704 that he cleared up his friend's doubts upon that occasion, so that this proposed match was broken off upon some other account. He tells Dr. *Tisdall*, in his letters, the causes of his holding her in so much esteem: “ It was “ not love, &c.”

L. 30. *Read*, In April 1701, *Swift* went to London; returned to Ireland in September following; took his doctor's degree on 16 Feb. after, which cost him in fees and treat £. 44, and upwards. In April 1702, &c.

L. 34. *After Anne, add*, He went first to Leiceſter, to see his mother; in May, to London; in July, to Moor Park; in October, to Ireland. The next year, in November 1703, he went to Leiceſter; thence to London; and May 30, 1704, returned to Dublin, whence he went directly to Laracor. This he calls, in his accompt-book, “ his 16th voyage.”

P. 17. *After l. 8. add*, He was appointed proctor for the Dean and Chapter of *St. Patrick's*, in the Irish convocation, July 24, 1707; and was very active in it, as appears by his protest, Oct. 30, 1717, signed singly by himself, in the presence of *Tho. Trotter*, N. P. In 1708, he wrote “ The Sentiments of a Church of England-man, “ with respect to Religion and Government,” in the quality of a moderator between the two parties that then divided the nation, because he could not possibly think so well or ill of either party, as they would endeavour to persuade the world of each other, and of themselves. For instance, he did not charge it upon the body of the Whigs or the Tories, that their several principles lead them to introduce Presbytery, and the Religion of the Church of Rome, or a Commonwealth and Arbitrary Power. As for himself, he says, “ I believe I am no “ bigot in Religion; and I am sure I am none in Government. I converse in full freedom with many considerable men of both parties; and if not in equal number, it is purely accidental and personal, as happening

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"to be near the court, and to have made acquaintance
"there more under one ministry than another."

What he was about publishing in *October* 1708, appears from these words in his own hand, on the back of a letter directed to him at that time at lord *Pembroke's* in *Leicester-fields* :

"SUBJECTS FOR A VOLUME.

Discourse on <i>Athens</i> and <i>Rome</i> .	Essay on Conversation.
<i>Bickerstaff's</i> Predictions.	Conjectures on the thoughts of Posterity about me.
Elegy on <i>Partridge</i> .	On the present Taste of Reading †.
Letter to Bishop of <i>K.</i> *	Apology for the, &c †.
<i>H—'s</i> Petition.	Part of an Answer to <i>Tindal</i> .
<i>Baucis</i> and <i>Philemon</i> .	History of <i>Van's</i> House.
<i>Vanbrugh's</i> House.	<i>Apollo</i> outwitted. To <i>Ar- delia</i> .
The Salamander.	Project for Reformation of Manners.
Epigram on Mrs. <i>Floyd</i> .	A Lady's Table Book.
Meditation on a Broom- stick.	Trritical Essay."
Sentiments of a Church of <i>England-man</i> .	
Reasons against abolishing Christianity.	

P. 10. l. 24. His mother died in 1710, as appears by a memorandum in one of the account books, which Dr. *Swift* always made up yearly, and on each page entered

* "Tooke is going on with my *Miscellany*. I'd give a penny the
"letter to the bishop of *Killaloe* was in it; it would do him
"honour: Could not you contrive to say you hear they were
"printing my *things* together; and that you wish the bookseller
"had that letter among the rest? but don't say any thing of it as
"from me. I forgot whether it was good or no; but only hav-
"ing heard it much commended, perhaps it may deserve it."

Journal to *Stella*, Oct. 17, 1710:

† The tract, which he had written, and sent to Sir *And. Fountain*, "*On Reading, and the Corruption of Taste in Writing*," was probably never published, or is not inscribed to the true author.

‡ Probably for "The Tale of a Tub."

minutely

minutely all his receipts and expences in every month, beginning his year from *Nov. 1.* He observed the same method all his life time till his last illness. At the foot of that page which includes his expences in the month of *May 1710*, at his glebe house in *Laracor*, in the county of *Meath*, where he was then resident, are these remarkable words; which shew at the same time his *filial piety*, and the religious use which he thought it his duty to make of that melancholy event: “*Mem. On Wednesday, between seven and eight, in the evening, May 10, 1710, I received a letter in my chamber at Laracor (Mr. Percival and Jo. Beaumont being by) from * Mrs. F——, dated May 9th, with one inclosed, sent from Mrs. Worrall at Leiceſter to Mrs. F——, giving an account, that my dear mother Mrs. Abigail Swift died that morning, Monday, April 24, 1710, about ten o’clock, after a long sickness, being ill all winter and lame, and extremely ill a month or six weeks before her death. I have now lost my barrier between me and death; God grant I may live to be as well prepared for it, as I confidently believe her to have been! If the way to Heaven be through piety, truth, justice, and charity, she is there. J. S.*”

He always treated his mother, during her life, with the utmost duty and affection; and she sometimes came to *Ireland*, to visit him after his settlement at *Laracor*. She lodged at Mr. *Brent’s* the Printer, in *George’s Lane, Dublin*. She asked Mrs. *Brent*, her landlady, “Whether she could keep a secret?” who replied, “She could very well.” Upon which, she enjoined her not to make the matter public, which she was now going to communicate to her. “I have a spark in this town, that I carried on a correspondence with whilst I was in *England*. He will be here presently, to pay his addresſes; for he has heard by this time of my arrival. But I would not have the matter known.” Soon after this, a rap was heard at the door; and Dr. *Swift* walked up stairs. Mrs. *Brent* retired; but, after a little time, she was called; and then Mrs. *Swift* introduced her to her son, and said, “This is my spark I was telling you of: this is my lover; and indeed the only one I shall ever

* Mrs. *Fenton*, his sister.

“ admit

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"admit to pay their addresses to me." The Doctor smiled at his mother's humour, and afterwards paid his duty to her every day unsuspected by Mrs. *Brent*, whom he invited some years afterwards to take care of his family affairs, when he became Dean of *St. Patrick's*. And when she died, he continued her daughter (Mrs. *Ridgeway*, then a poor widow) in the same office.

P. 21. l. 16. This work, being in great part written, would have been completed and published soon after, if his friends in the ministry had not disagreed about those preliminary pieces. After the queen's death, he spent some time in improving and correcting it; but it never appeared in print till 1758*.

P. 21.

* The following note, written by bishop *Warburton*, was printed with the letters of Dr. *Swift*, Mr. *Pepes*, and others, concerning this History :

"These papers some years after were brought *finished* by the Dean into *England*, with an intention to publish them. But a friend on whose judgement he relied (the same I suppose whom he mentions above, as being abroad at the time of writing this letter) dissuaded him from that design. He told the Dean, there were several facts he knew to be false, and that the whole was so much in the spirit of party-writing, that, though it might have made a seasonable pamphlet in the time of their administration, it was a dishonour to just history. The Dean would do nothing against his friend's judgement; yet it extremely chagrined him: and he told a common friend, that since — did not approve the history, he would cast it into the fire, though it was the best work he had ever written. However, it did not undergo this fate, and is said to be yet in being." So says the annotator. And yet it is certain, that a friend of Dr. *Swift's* took occasion (in some conversation with lord *Bolingbroke* at *Battersea* in 1750) to ask his lordship about the facts mentioned in the said work, alledging, that a great part of the materials was furnished from his lordship's papers, when secretary of state: who replied, "That indeed he did not recollect any thing he might object to, as concerning the matters of fact, but one; which was about the *suspension of arms* being mentioned there as a transaction of the queen's ministry. Whereas, said he, I do assure you, I was utterly unacquainted with that measure; having advised against it, until it was fully agreed upon in concert with Dr. *Swift's* hero (meaning lord *Oxford*), nor had I any other hand in that matter more than to ask the queen in

" council,

P. 21. l. *penult.* *Read*, did not stay in *Dublin* more than a fortnight, where he did not return one visit of a hundred, which, as he said, were all to the Dean, and none to the Doctor. He retired to the parsonage of *Laracor*, preferring a field bed and an earthen floor to the large Deanry-house which belonged to him in *Dublin*. He soon, however, returned to *England*, being urged, &c.

P. 25. l. 24. *Add*, when this noble lord was under persecution, *Swift* saw a pamphlet, called "The Conduct of " Lord Treasurer impartially considered;" upon which he wrote observations; but whether he published them doth not appear.

P. 26. l. 9. *Add*, However, he was punctual in paying it quarterly. He used to write the receipt himself in the following form every quarter day, and sent it to be signed by the messenger who carried the money :

" June 25th, 1737.

" Then received from Doctor *Swift*, Dean of *St. Patrick's*, the sum of thirteen pounds sterling,
 " in full for one quarter's rent of payments out of
 " funds in *England*, by advance of what will be
 " due to me at *Michaelmas* next, in this year 1737;
 " the said Dean always paying me one quarter by
 " advance. I say received by me,

" RE. DINGLEY."

He used to visit her; but in such a manner, as to prevent her being at any expence in providing entertainments.

" council, after the written order for suspending all military operations was put into my hands, *Madam*, is it your Majesty's " pleasure, that this order be signed?" In a letter to Mr. *Pope*, Jan 10, 1721, the Dean says, " I had indeed written some memorials of the four last years of the Queen's reign, with some " other informations which I received, as necessary materials to " qualify me for doing something in a place then designed me; " but, as it was at the disposal of a person who had not the " smallest share of steadiness or sincerity, I disdained to accept it." It was in the gift of *Henry Grey*, duke of *Kent*, of whom *Swift* in his MS. notes on *Macky*, says only, that " he was a good-natured man, but of very little consequence." He was lord chamberlain of the household; succeeded to the earldom of *Kent* in August 1702; was created marquis Dec. 14, 1706; duke, April 28, 1710; and died in 1740.

The

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The notice of his coming was written by him on a small billet, in this strain: "If you are disposed to be easy and cheerful, I will send something for dinner to your lodgings, and eat it with you and Mrs. *Ridgeway* *; with a bottle of wine and bread. Speak freely, and send me word. But Mrs. *Ridgeway* shall take all the care upon her. If you do not like this proposal, send word. I would dine a little after two.

"*Wednesday, Aug. 29, 1733.*"

Another letter: "Pray God bless you, and restore your health, and give you many happy new years. I send you your usual *Christmas*-box. I will see you as soon as I can. I am tolerably well, but have no security to continue so. We must all submit, both by piety and necessity. I am ever entirely yours.

"*Dec. 28, 1734.*"

"I send you two bottles of wine."

She did not survive the Dean, for she died *July 1743*.

P. 29. l. 16. *Add*, Miss *Esther Vanhomrigh* and her sister *Mary* were daughters of an eminent merchant, who came from *Amsterdam*, and settled in *Dublin* where he died in 1703. He was appointed muster-master-general, and a commissioner of the revenue, by King *William*. After his death in 1709, Mrs. *Vanhomrigh* retired into *England*, where she saw the best company, and was visited by ladies of the first quality.—This appears from letters of *Dr. Swift* in the *Journal* way to Mrs. *Johnson* and Mrs. *Dingley*. See *Feb. 26*, and *March 1, 1710-11*. Mrs. *Vanhomrigh* † must have had a considerable fortune, to enable her to live among people of high rank. She died in *London* in 1714; and left some debts unpaid, which did not affect her daughters' fortunes. But Miss *Esther*, who administered to her will, was very uneasy, lest she should be obliged to pay all her mother's debts when the

* Mrs. *Dingley*'s lodgings were at the house of Mrs. *Ridgeway*, at that time the wife of a cabinet-maker in *Grafton-street, Dublin*; and of whom more hereafter.

† By a letter of Mr. *Prior*, dated *Paris, Aug. 5, 1713*, this lady appears to have had an extravagant son: "*Vanhomrigh* has run terribly here in debt; and, being in durance, has sent to his mother upon pecuniary concerns."

year

year was out : and she wrote to the Dean upon that head. He answered her, " You can only pay what you receive. " You are answerable for no more ; " and then desires her, if she wants money, to go to Mr. *Barber* or *Ben Tooke*, which she pleases, and to let them know, that he will stand bound for any sums she wants.—It appears, from these two lines in the poem of *Cadenus* and *Vanessa*, that she had a considerable fortune :

Five thousand guineas in her purse,
The Doctor might have fancy'd worse.

And yet he refused the generous offers she made of her love, though she was young, beautiful, and rich.

On *April* 15, 1712, Dr. *Swift* from *Windsor Castle* writes to her, of his losses at ombre with the duke and dutchess of *Shrewsbury*. He bids her adieu, till they meet over a pot of coffee ; which it seems, by other letters, they were fond of ; he thought it good for raising the spirits ; and valued himself much upon the making of it, for he never suffered it to be made in his own house out of his presence.—By her letter from *London*, *Sept.* 1712, it appears she admired him much, and speaks with great jealousy of Miss *Hill*, sister of general *Hill*, and afterwards lady *Masbam*. In the year following she declared her passion openly to him, " Oh ! what would I give to know how you do !—But I must confine my thoughts, or at least stop from talking them to you, or you will chide me, which will still add to my uneasiness. I am impatient to the last degree, to hear how you are. I hope I shall soon have you here."

In the year 1714, after her mother's death, she went to *Dublin*, and writes thus to him : " You once had a maxim, which was, to act what was right, and not mind what the world would say. I wish you would keep to it now. Pray, what can be wrong, in seeing and advising an unhappy young woman ? I cannot imagine. You cannot but know, that your frowns make my life insupportable. You have taught me to distinguish, and then you leave me miserable. Now all I beg is, that you will for once counterfeit (since you cannot otherwise) that indulgent friend you once were, till I get the better of these difficulties."

Again she writes about the same time : " You bid me be easy, and you would see me as often as you can.
" You

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" You had better have said, as often as you could get the
 " better of your inclinations so much, or as often as you
 " remembered there was such a one in the world. If you
 " continue to treat me as you do, you will not be made
 " uneasy by me long. It is impossible to describe what I
 " have suffered since I saw you last. I am sure I could
 " have borne the rack much better than those killing,
 " killing words of yours. Sometimes I have resolved to
 " die without seeing you more; but those resolves, to
 " your misfortune, did not last long; for there is some-
 " thing in human nature that prompts one so to find relief
 " in this world, I must give way to it; and beg you
 " would see me, and speak kindly to me; for I am sure,
 " you would not condemn any one to suffer what I have
 " done, could you but know it. The reason I write to
 " you is, because I cannot tell it to you, should I see you.
 " For when I begin to complain, then you are angry;
 " and there is something in your looks so awful, that it
 " strikes me dumb. Oh! that you may have so much re-
 " gard for me left, that this complaint may touch your
 " soul with pity! I say as little as ever I can. Did you
 " but know what I thought, I am sure, it would move
 " you to forgive me, and believe, I cannot help telling
 " you this and live."

He writes from *Philip's-town*, in the *King's County*,
Nov. 5, 1714, in very discouraging terms: " I have rode
 " a tedious journey to-day, and can say no more: nor
 " shall you know where I am till I come, and then I will
 " see you. A fig for your letters and messages! Adieu."

P. 30. After l. 8. add his own account of these matters,
 from a Letter to Mr. Pope, Feb. 9, 1735-6: " My po-
 " pularity that you mention is wholly confined to the
 " common people, who are more constant than those we
 " miscall their betters. I walk the streets, and so do my
 " lower friends, from whom, and from whom alone, I
 " have a thousand hats and blessings upon old scores,
 " which those we call the gentry have forgot. But I have
 " not the love, or hardly the civility, of any one man in
 " power or station; and I can boast, that I neither visit or
 " am acquainted with any lord temporal or spiritual in the
 " whole kingdom; nor am able to do the least good
 " office to the most deserving man, except what I can
 " dispose of in my own cathedral upon a vacancy. What
 " hath

"hath sunk my spirits more than even years and sickness,
 "is reflecting on the most execrable corruptions that run
 "through every branch of public management."

L. 9. *Read*, After some time of his settlement in *Dublin*, his former and most intimate correspondent Archbishop *King*, with some of his o'd friends, but chiefly Mr. *Dougal* the chaunter, and nephew to the archbishop, set themselves against his jurisdiction with all their force, &c. See Bp. *Atterbury's* advice to him on this occasion in 1716, vol. XX. p. 115. and a spirited letter of *Swift's* to Abp. *King* (whose prejudices appear to have continued long after) vol. XVII. p. 162.

P. 31. l. 25. *Add*, Dr. *Swift*, in a loose memorandum, gives this instance of Mr. *Grattan's* domestic folly at *Bellcamp*, a few miles from *Dublin*: "Mr. *Grattan's* walk, called "*The Revenge Walk*, was from the gate going in, to "*Gordon's* house-door, by gross computation, 1740 feet; "out of the length of this walk, he made a lease for ever "of 595 feet, with a field adjoining, to Mr. *Deering*, a "stranger. Therefore Mr. *Grattan's* walk is now in "length only 1145 feet. It was the greatest folly of a "private domestic kind, that I ever remember: for that "walk was the only convenience in his garden or grounds "about it, and the only agreeable circumstance that could "make the place tolerable."

L. 29. Sir *James Grattan* (the merchant) was lord mayor of *Dublin* in 1726.

L. 32. *Read*, master of the royal free-school at *Innis-killing*, founded with four more in the province of *Ulster* by king *Charles I.* See some curious particulars respecting Mr. *Charles Grattan*, in the *Journal to Stella*, March 29, 1713.

P. 32. l. 23. *After* table, *add*, besides which, she had a strong clear voice; and that this was a quality he esteemed her for, appears by a letter to Mr. *Worral* from *Market Hill*, the country seat of Sir *Arthur Acheson*, dated Jan. 13, 1728; "I have been now ill about a month; but "the family are so kind to speak loud enough for me to "hear them: my deafness is not so extreme as you have "known, when I have fretted at your mannerly voice, "and was only relieved by Mrs. *Worral*."—She had both taste and skill in all matters of house-keeping, and took

care to have his table served in the manner that he best liked.

P. 32. l. penult. *Read thus*, This gentleman, by his last will, bequeathed to *Trinity College, Dublin*, 100*l.* *per annum*, to be yearly distributed among poor scholars educated in that city; and many thousand pounds more to be disposed of to public charities, at the discretion of his executors (the Dean of *St. Patrick's* and others); 500*l.* of which was appropriated to the Dean's hospital, besides the profit of a lease for 90 years of land at *Kilmainham* near the said hospital, held under the minor canons of *St. Patrick's*, of which corporation he had been a member from the year 1688.

P. 33. l. 4. *Read*, The Dean, when he first settled at *Dublin*, was in debt to his predecessor Bp. *Stearne* in the sum of 600*l.* being two-thirds of the sum expended in building the Deanry-house. This determined. &c.

L. 24. *After* pulpit, *add*, he had not talents for it, and therefore would not publish any sermons, though often pressed by his friends to do it. He was, however, well attended by a crowded audience every fifth *Sunday* at his cathedral, when the preaching came to his turn, which was well known in *Dublin*; he applied himself to the care of his church, its income, and œconomy, and attended divine service there with great diligence. He continued the primitive practice of celebrating in cathedrals, &c.

L. 36. *Read*, the anthems, having the musick-book before him, though he did not understand the notes, but only to see that the choir did not omit any of the words. He went to prayers every morning at nine, and often at three in the afternoon.

P. 35. l. 2. *Add*, Notwithstanding Dr. *Delany's* sentiments of *Swift's* marriage, and notwithstanding all that Lord *Orrery* and others have said about it, there is no authority for it but a hear-say story, and that very ill-founded. It is certain, that the Dean told one of his friends whom he advised to marry, "that he never wished
"to marry at the time that he ought to have entered into
"that state; for he counted upon it as the happiest condition, especially towards the decline of life, when a
"faithful and tender friend is most wanted." While he was talking to this effect, his friend expressed his wishes to have seen him married. The Dean asked, "Why?"
"Because,"

"Because," replied the other, "I should have had the pleasure of seeing your offspring. All the world would have been pleased to have seen the issue of such a genius." The Dean smiled, and denied his being married, in the same manner as before; and said, "he never saw the woman he wished to be married to." And, indeed, it is certain, that all his friends, as well as the public in general, would have rejoiced at that event, because it is highly probable they would have seen the children of this wonderful man, as he had a sound constitution, strengthened by temperance and exercise. The same Gentleman, who was intimate with Mrs. *Dingley* for ten years before she died, in 1743 took occasion to tell her, that such a story was whispered of her friend Mrs. *Johnson's* marriage with the Dean; but she only laughed at it, as an idle tale, founded on suspicion. Again: Mrs. *Brent*, with whom the Dean's mother used to lodge in *Dublin* in the Queen's time, and who was his own housekeeper after he settled in *Dublin* in 1714, and who, for her many good qualities in that station, was much confided in, never did believe there was a marriage between those persons, notwithstanding all that love and fondness which subsisted between them. She thought it was all Platonic love. And she often told her daughter *Ridgeway* so. She said, that Mrs. *Johnson* never came alone to the Deanry; that Mrs. *Dingley* and she came together always; and that she never slept in that house if the Dean was there, only in the time of his sickness, to attend him, and see him well taken care of, as he writes in 1720:

"When on my sickly couch I lay,
 "Impatient both of night and day;
 "Lamenting in unmanly strains,
 "Call'd every power to ease my pains;
 "Then *Stella* ran to my relief,
 "With chearful face and inward grief.
 "And though, by heaven's severe decree,
 "She suffers hourly more than me,
 "No cruel master could require,
 "From slaves employ'd for daily hire,
 "What *Stella*, by her friendship warm'd,
 "With vigour and delight perform'd."

SUPPL. I. [XXV.]

d

During

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During this course of her generous attendance, Mrs. *Dingley* and she slept together; and as soon as he recovered, they returned to their lodgings on *Ormond Quay*. These ladies slept two other times at the Deanry, at an elegant pleasure-house, and near his garden called *Naboth's Vineyard*; and that was for those months in 1726 and 1727 which he spent in *England*.—It chanced that she was taken ill at the Deanry, while he was in *London*; and it added much to his affliction that it happened at the Deanry, for fear of defamation in case of her dying at his house, whether he was at home or abroad. See his reflexions to this purpose, in a letter to Mr. *Worrall*, in 1726. Had he been married to her, he could not have lived in a state of separation from her, he loved her so passionately; for he admired her upon every account that can make a woman amiable or valuable as a companion for life. Is it possible to think, that an affectionate husband could first have written, and then have used, those several prayers (lately published from his own hand) for a dying wife, with whom he never cohabited, and whose mouth must have been filled with reproaches for denying her all conjugal rites for a number of years, nay, from the very period, 1716, that is pretended to be the time of their marriage? Would he have suffered his wife to make a will, signed *Esther Johnson*, and to devise £. 1500 away from him; of which £. 1000 is enjoyed by the chaplain of *Stephens's Hospital* for the sick, and accept of a gold watch only as the testimony of her regard for him? Or would she have thought herself at liberty to make a will at all, when it could not but be known that her marriage had divested her of all right to the property she thereby disposed of, and even the very power to make an executor? A will therefore under such circumstances would have been void of itself; as, from the time of her marriage, whatever she then possessed, the Dean would have had absolute authority over; and it seems more likely that he would have directed the application of it towards the future support of lunatics, which was the species of charity he thought most worthy the attention of the public. Is it probable that two gentlemen still living, of honour and fortune, who knew them both most intimately, and who are her executors, would not have known of a marriage, if there was one? And yet they always did, and do positively declare,

declare, they never had cause to suspect they were married, although they were in the company of both a thousand times. They saw proofs enough of the warmest friendship; and any love, but connubial love. If she made him a present of a book, you may read in the title page these words, "*Esther Johnson's gift to Jonathan Swift, 1719:*" and so he distinguished every book she gave him.—In his account of her, written on the night she died, and two or three days after, he speaks of her as "the truest, most virtuous, and valuable friend that he was ever blessed with." He was ill the day after her death, and could not write; but the next night he says, "This is the night of the funeral, which my sickness will not suffer me to attend." If he had attended, he must, in point of duty as Dean, have read the funeral service, as she was buried in his own cathedral.—Would he deny his marriage to a woman of a good fortune at that time, when he says, "She had a gracefulness somewhat *more than human, in every motion, word, and action!*"

P. 35. l. 11. Mrs. Conolly was daughter to General Cunningham, and wife of William Conolly, esq; Speaker of the house of commons.

P. 36. After l. 2, Read, This is all only tittle-tattle and suspicion; for no such letters appear in the whole correspondence which she preserved. Had such a one been written by Dr. Swift, Vanessa would have put it in the collection which she desired her executors to publish. The last letter is dated Aug. 7, 1722, where he says, "The best companion for her was a philosopher, whom she might regard as much as a sermon;" and "that his love and esteem for her was founded altogether on friendship." It is thought the Dean's neglect of her proffered love put her upon canceling a will she had made in his favour, &c.

P. 38. l. 25. After Baronius, add, He read also the Magdeburgh Ecclesiastical Historians, with some others, which were in his library. Lord Orrery thinks, with some reason, that he employed his time partly upon Gulliver's Travels. In 1717, he wrote *The Plea against taking off the Sacramental Test in Ireland*; and in 1719, his valuable *Letter to a young Clergyman*.

P. 40. l. 15. Read, These letters united the whole nation in his praise, filled every street with his effigies on
d 2 signs,

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signs, and every voice sang the praises of *M. B. Drapier*; so he styled himself. *Wood*, though he was supported by the ministry in prostituting the power given him by patent to the sordid purpose of enriching himself, by drawing away all the gold of the nation for his base metal (for so his half-pence appeared to be upon trial), was at length compelled to withdraw his patent, and his money was totally suppressed. When the Dean was in *England* in 1726, he found that *Wood* was much a favourite with Sir *Robert*, who vindicated the project to the Dean, and defended *Wood's* scheme, without asking the Dean's real thoughts about it, which it would have been civil to have done; but bluntly asked, without further ceremony, "Why he had set himself so much against that poor man?" and, if the king had a mind to give him a hundred thousand pounds in this manner, sure it was but a small compliment to the crown." But the Dean told him, "he knew little of the state of *Ireland*, and the cramped condition of its trade, if he compared its power of being liberal to court-favourites with *England*." It appears from his letters to Mr. *Worrall*, Aug. 27, and Aug. 31, 1725, that he had written more papers against *Wood's* scheme; but, as the patent was canceled, they were suppressed. He writes, "I gave *Jack Grattan* the papers corrected; and I think half spoiled, by the cowardly caution of him and others. He promised to transcribe them time enough; and my desire is, they may be ready to be published upon the first day the parliament meets. I hope you will contrive it among you, that it may be sent unknown (as usual) to some printer, with proper directions. I had lately a letter without a name, telling me, that I have got a sop to hold my tongue; and that it is determined we must have that grievance, &c. forced on us." On Aug. 31, he writes: Since "*Wood's* patent is canceled, it will by no means be convenient to have the paper printed; as I suppose you, and "*Jack Grattan*, and *Sheridan*, will agree. Therefore, if "it be with the printer*, I would have it taken back, "and the press broke, and let her be satisfied. The work "is done, and there is no more need of the *Drapier*."

* The printer was *Harding's* widow.

P. 42. l. 16. His powerful support of Alderman *French* the ironmonger when candidate as representative in *Dublin* in 1733, and of Mr. *Stannard* who was that year elected recorder, are sufficient proofs of this assertion.

P. 44. l. *antepenult.* In the MS. whence most of these anecdotes are extracted, is the following memorandum, "See his MS. scheme to Mr. *Pulteney*, about, proper measures to be followed by the court."—*Quere*, What that scheme was?

P. 45. *After* l. 29, *add*, See the Dean's own account of her, vol. XVII. p. 54. Three prayers composed by him, to make use of in her last illness, are printed in his works. She was interred in the great aisle of *St. Patrick's* cathedral; and left money for a monument, which through negligence was never erected. Her executors indeed waited for an inscription, which Dr. *Swift* promised to write.

P. 48. l. 15. *After* melancholy, *read*, His chapter entertainments, which were four yearly, were not discontinued in his house, though he often declined presiding at the table; and sometimes avoided the company of his most intimate friends.

L. 35—37. Those lines, with the remainder of that small copy of verses, lay on his table when his servant brought up dinner one day in *September* 1734. Mrs. *Ridgeway*, his house-keeper, seeing them, requested a copy; and the Dean immediately gave her the paper.

P. 49. l. 20. *Read*, Mrs. *Whiteway*, a first cousin of the Dean's, who came from her own house at the other end of *Dublin* three days in each week, to read and chat with him, after *Stella's* death, being the principal female that frequented his table for many years, while his memory remained.

L. 29. *Read*, there is an air of merriment, in some of the pieces which he wrote afterwards, not to be found in any other of his writings; such in particular are several of his poems, his *Directions to Servants*, his *Polite Conversation*, and many of the whimsical things which he wrote in conjunction with *Sheridan*.

P. 51. l. 17. *Add*, Modesty and good-manners did not prevent *Bettesworth* from exposing himself to the censure even of his own friends: for, upon hearing that the Dean had dined at Mr. *Worral's* house, he went thither after

dinner, poured out some of his ill language in the Dean's presence, and said, "He could bear the appellation of "rogue, or villain, rather than *booby*." The Dean made no reply to him; but only observed to the company, "This man is altogether beside himself; I wonder his friends do not take better care of him. Pray, Mr. *Worral*, send to his relations, to get him confined." This mild answer quieted the madman for this time; and the Dean never saw him afterwards.

P. 52. l. 8. *Read*, or much more than one or two fittings to finish. *The Beasts Confession* was one of those pieces. From this time his memory was perceived gradually to decline; and his melancholy increased by the strength of his imagination, brooding over the unhappy scene of misery which he foresaw was his lot, when he must become, as he said, a perfect slubberer. He was often heard to offer up his prayers to Almighty God, "to take him away from this evil to come." The prospect of this calamity, which he was daily lamenting, contributed very much, as his passions were violent, to pervert his understanding, to which many other particulars seem also to have concurred.

P. 53. *After* l. 27, *add*, See much more of his affection and esteem in the said Letter to *Swift* in 1739.—About this time, a friend whom he loved, and had much confidence in, and whom he earnestly requested to have an eye upon him and his affairs on account of his departing memory (and at the same time made him a present, which he begged him to accept of), came up to the Dean, when he was walking one day through the rooms of the lower part of his house according to his daily practice, and asked him about his health, and so forth. This happened to be at a time when he was somewhat inflamed at some behaviour in one of his servants, and was about striking him, which his friend endeavoured to divert, by making some apology for the man. But the Dean's choler increasing, he lifted up his cane at his friend, who desired him not to strike, and held his arm. Upon which the good delirious old man recollected himself, begged pardon; said, "You are a gentleman; I had quite forgot myself; I am sorry for it."

P. 54. l. ult. *Read*, the sinus of his brain.

P. 55. l. 1. *Read*, Mr. *David Stevens*, an ingenious clergyman of *Delaloffory*, in the diocese of *Dublin*.

L. 3. *Read*, and upon opening his head.

After l. 8, *add*, When the Dean was dead, Mr. *White-way*, an eminent surgeon, nearly related to him, opened the skull, and found much water in the brain.

L. 23. His house-keeper (*Anne Brent*) was daughter of his former house-keeper Mrs. *Brent*, whose husband had been a printer. She was married to an idle spendthrift, one *Ridgerway*, a cabinet-maker; for the relief of whose necessities she was once about selling an annuity of 20*l.* a year, that had been bequeathed to her for life by her late mistress lady *Newtown*. The Dean, upon hearing of such a design, commiserated her case, and paid down the sum agreed for as the purchase, retaining it in his power; then paid the annuity to her every year, as if it had been received from lady *Newtown's* executors; and afterwards bequeathed it to her, which she enjoyed till her death, which happened Oct. 16, 1774. For her better encouragement to take more than ordinary care of him in that illness which he always dreaded and foresaw as plainly as he would a coming shower, he left her 100*l.* more. But to bind her more strongly to her duty still, after he had settled all his affairs by a last will, he signed a bond and warrant for a further sum of 300*l.*; observing, at the same time, "It may be, the jade will hereafter demand interest upon this bond, though only intended as an additional legacy." Upon which she declared, she never would do so, and wondered that the Dean could suspect her of it.—However, his conjecture proved true in the end: for she afterwards intermarried with an avaricious man, one *Henry Land** (whom the Dean had formerly appointed sexton of his cathedral, in which office he had acquired some wealth); who persuaded her in 1748 to join him in demanding 144*l.* for eight years interest due on the said bond, which was paid along with the principal by the executors: but she generously remitted a small part, by way of benefaction to the Dean's hospital.

After l. 37, He would often attempt to speak his mind, but could not recollect words to express his meaning;

* Mentioned in Dr. *Swift's* will, as holding the lease of a house in *Deanry-lane*.

upon which, he would shrug up his shoulders, shake his head, and sigh heavily. Among all kinds of smells, none offended him so much as the snuff of a candle. It happened, that a young girl, the daughter of his house-keeper's relation, blew out a candle in his chamber. At which, he knit his brows, looked angry, and said, "You are a little dirty slut!" He spoke no more of it; but seemed displeased with her the whole evening.

P. 58. *After l. 2, add,* For he detested all immoral or impious men, and could not endure the hearing of any thing that tended to levity in religion, lewdness, or any immorality whatever. He always distinguished between obscenity, in common discourse and writing, from what was only slovenly. The former was not to be endured; but he wrote and spoke of the latter, merely in order to recommend cleanliness in dress and behaviour, by representing filthiness and sluttishness in the most contemptible light. This he frequently did with great advantage, and for that good end. *Cotton's* Travestie of *Virgil* was much admired by him, as a true original. He had much of it by heart; but often lamented the author's indelicacy in many lines of that poem; and wished to see it freed from those unchaste expressions that offend modesty. Upon which, *Dr. Dunkin* undertook to burlesque all those passages of the first and fourth books of the *Æneid*, that *Cotton* had handled, but in a more decent manner than *Cotton* had done, and he added likewise a great deal more. When this was thus finished with infinite humour by that ingenious gentleman, some one of his pretended friends borrowed it, with whom it remains to this day forgotten and unpublished. A very humorous poem, occasioned by this circumstance, is in the works of *Dr. Dunkin*.

After l. 21, add, He was so generous and warm in his friendships, that he had a singular pleasure in recommending, or doing kindnesses to, all persons in whom he saw any degree of merit. And when he met with gratitude, he got his reward, and expected no other. Upon a paper he wrote down the names of several persons (but left a few blanks) in the following manner, for those whom he styles *Ungrateful*, *Grateful*, and *Indifferent*; others, according to their behaviour, at different times, are marked *D. Doubtful*, and so forth,

" List

"List of *Ungrateful—Grateful—Indifferent—and Doubtful.*

Abp. of Dublin [Dr. King],	u.	Mr. Warburton [Curate at Laracor],	i.
Mr. Read,	d. g.	Mr. Walls,	u.
Captain Bernege,	g.	Humphry May,	{ u.
Mr. Harrison,	d. g.	at last,	{ g.
Mr. Fiddes,	i.	Dean of Down, Pratt,	u.
L.Pr. [Lord Primate Marlb*]	g.	Mr. Berkeley,	u.
	u.	Mr. Steele,	u.
Mr. Forbes,	u.	Mr. Robert Pooley,	d.
Mr. Barber,	u.	Mr. Higgins,	u.
Mr. Tooke,	g.	John Grattan,	g.
M—M—[Mrs. Manley],	g.	Robert Grattan,	g.
Dr. Sacheverell,	i.	Dr. Delany,	i. partly g.
Mr. Trapp,	i.	Mr. Lightburn,	u.
Mr. Smyth,	i.	Charles Grattan,	g.
Dr. St—[Bp. Stearne],	u.	Mr. Curtis,	g.
Mr. Straitsford,	i.	Mr. Corbet,	i.
Mr. Ford,	g.	Mr. Nisbit,	u.
Mr. Pope,	g.	Mr. James Stopford,	g.
Mr. Gay,	g.	Dr. Sheridan,	g.
Dr. Parnell,	u. d.	Queen C—,	u.
Mr. Manley [the Post-	u.	Mr. Wood,	g.
master],	u.	Sir —,	u.
Dr. Raymond,	u.	Mrs. Barber,	g.

P. 61. After l. 33, add, About a fortnight before he died, this trusty servant made his will, in the following manner: "*Imprimis*, I desire, that my body may be buried in such place and manner as my late master the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, shall please to order. 2dly, I do hereby bequeath to the said Rev. Dean, a fusée, quail pipes and nets, which I humbly desire he will accept of, as the last mark of duty and affection from a faithful servant. 3dly, and lastly, Placing all trust and confidence in the justice and goodness of the said Dean, I do hereby appoint and empower him, the said Dean, to receive and take into his hands all the remainder of my goods,

* This prelate built and endowed the fine library of St. Sepulchre's, near St. Patrick's cathedral,

" money,

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"money, and effects whatsoever, at my death; and there-
"out to discharge, pay, and clear off, all my lawful
"debts. And the overplus of the same I do hereby be-
"queath to my elder brother *Thomas Mac Gee*; whatever
"the said overplus shall appear to be, by an account
"drawn up and signed by the said Dean." The Dean
performed the funeral service, and was observed to shed
tears.

P. 62. After l. 3, read, As to his writings, notwith-
standing Dr. *Delany's* opinion that "there are few he did
"not wish to have published," he never appears to have
been solicitous about the preservation of the greatest part
of them. What he wrote to Mr. *Pope*, May 1, 1733,
about *Gay's* sisters printing his writings to make money of
them, was probably the course he wished to be taken with
his own written amusements. "I had rather see his
"sisters hanged, than see his works swelled by any loss of
"credit to his memory. I would be glad to see the most
"valuable printed by themselves; those which ought not
"to be seen, burnt immediately; and the others that have
"gone abroad, printed separately like *opuscula*, or rather
"be stifled and forgotten."—His writings in defence of the
oppressed people of *Ireland* are well known; and that he
might not be wanting himself to encourage industry at
Dublin, the place of his residence, while he pleaded their
cause with others, he constantly lent out a large sum of
money, in small portions of five or ten pounds, to honest,
diligent, and necessitous tradesmen, who paid it with a
small gratuity to the housekeeper, who had the trouble of
keeping the account of the bonds taken, and weekly pay-
ments; for he received back these loans, by a certain sum,
out of the weekly profit of the borrowers' trades, in such
proportions as that the whole should be re-paid in a year,
namely, at two shillings a week.

P. 63. l. 23. The youth's name was *James Baylis*; the
accident was the loss of one or two of his fingers.

L. 28. Read, "I will make him vicar directly;"
which he did accordingly, by bestowing one of those
places on him, then vacant, worth more than eighty
pounds a year. He was afterwards parish clerk of *St.*
Mary's, Dublin.

P. 64. After l. 25. add, His bounties were daily en-
tered in his account-book, and were thus distinguished
on

on each page of his weekly accompts; "*grands dons*;
"*petits dons*."

P. 64. l. 26. *Read*, But his desire of acquiring a fund for his intended hospital was not gratified at the expence of the poor, to whose distress he was a daily witness in his walks; neither was it gratified at the expence of his tenants, either by extorting heavy fines, or rack-rents.--Nor did he ever deprive his little household of any of those comforts he thought them entitled to receive from an indulgent master. His butler and groom were each allowed for their board four shillings a week; so were his cook maid and housemaid. As to the house-keeper, she was much better paid, and generally dined and supped at his own table; for he lived very much at home. And though the servants were then daily fed for the most part at his expence, yet he always continued the same weekly allowances above their wages; which the men particularly (on account of their having cloaths also found them) could afford often to reserve in his hands for some good purpose in their little way; which pleased him so much when it happened, that he never failed to add to the same a voluntary gift. He frequently observed, during the period of his own time, how much the necessaries of life were increased in their value by the variable state of money; and in particular, that all the provisions for a table might be purchased at much less expence fifty years ago than at present. On which account, when tenants came to renew leases, they always found he had the welfare of his successors more in view than his own immediate profit; and, in order to support the dignity of their rank the better, he always refused to fine down the whole rents, for he resolved never to renew a certain lease of good value belonging to the Deanry, without raising the rent thirty pounds each time; for he found the lands in 1713 let at sixty or seventy pounds a year only. The tenants, &c.

P. 65. l. 2. *After* rent, *add*, and accordingly in 1741 he raised the rent of the said lands, near *Athy* in the county of *Kildare*, from one hundred and seventy to two hundred pounds a year.

l. 21. *Read*, Nor would he suffer one shilling of the cathedral money, called "The œconomy estate," to be alienated from its proper use to any person, even for the purpose of charity, unless connected with the same by his office,

office, or that the person to be relieved was a sufferer in carrying on the work of the church. Such was the poor labourer who fell from a high scaffold in the great aisle, and was thereby lamed, in 1732; to whom the Dean appointed a weekly allowance, which he continued to enjoy in 1765, and, if living, possibly still enjoys.

P. 65. l. 31. *Read*, for three poor widows he built a little alms-house, which is still kept in good repair.

After l. 28, *add*, and always recommended the use of the plainest language. He improved even his vicarage of *Laracor* by the purchase of some rectorial tithes; and though he resided there but a short time, he enlarged the house, and improved the glebe and garden, leaving no charge for any of these matters against his successor. Though the Deanry of *St. Patrick's* be not of royal foundation, but was founded and endowed by an archbishop of *Dublin* in the reign of king *John*, yet the founder relinquished to the Dean and his Chapter many of his own episcopal rights, both spiritual and temporal, so far as the precincts of the cathedral extend, which are called "The Liberties of *St. Patrick's*," and comprehend the two closes of the church on each side, and such parts of the adjoining streets as now contain the whole compass of the ground antiently assigned for houses and gardens to the Dean, Dignitary, Prebendaries, Minor Canons, Vicars Choral, and Choristers, beside the common estate for the use of the fabrick, called *The æconomy*. Within those bounds the Dean was appointed sole ordinary, with full visitatorial power as to enquiry and correction. Nay, the archbishop, as supreme ordinary, cannot visit any of the members of the church in his annual course of visiting his diocese, but only by the Dean and through him, by asking him such questions as he thinks fit to be resolved in. Dr. *Swift*, who had been prebendary of that cathedral from 1700, many years before he became Dean, knew the rights and jurisdiction of his place very well, and often asserted and maintained them against the archbishop at several times; and would not suffer any encroachments thereupon by any person whatsoever.

P. 66. l. *ult.* *add*, His charities made always a considerable part of his expences.

P. 67. l. 4. A couple of plain-dressed dishes of meat, generally roasted, with a plain bread-pudding, were his choice;

choice; and in drinking he very rarely exceeded a pint of claret, which he sweetened in every glass, either with some luscious wine or with sugar.

P. 68. *After* l. 31, *add*, Thus he computed the number of miles he walked every day, though he went not out of his house into his garden in rainy weather, which was a large building, with two flights of back-stairs, beside the great ones; all which he would frequently go up and down through all the rooms on each floor.

P. 69. l. 24. *Read*, when he ceased from walking much, he recovered his flesh in a short time, but, as walking much was his pleasure, he was every day even then led about his chamber by his attendants.—He was cleanly even to superstition: his nails were always close pared; and every second day he shaved himself, though troublesome, as he complained his hair was hard as hogs bristles; and he washed his feet as often. He changed his linen every day; and though he rarely went abroad, yet he daily dressed in his gown in the morning. In his person he was robust and masculine, his deportment was commanding, and his walk erect. His voice was sharp, strong, and high-toned; and there was a natural severity in his aspect, which even his smiles could scarcely soften, nor his utmost gaiety relax. He only smiled, when most pleased; he never laughed-out loud.

P. 70. l. 4. *Add*, and very quick at observing the least negligence of good-manners in any of his company.

L. 10. *Read*, which concealed his piety; and his private devotion, which was constant and uniform. The same backwardness in shewing that tenderness and natural affection, which he really felt most sensibly for the poor and miserable, but seemed to hide, and which made him appear obdurate and austere, on account of his rigid inquiries into the causes of their distress, transferred the distribution of his liberality from instinct to religion; and made that, which in others is an exercise of self-love, in him a duty and an act of obedience to God.

P. 71. l. 3. *Read*, was a scale of infelicity, gradually ascending still to a higher pitch of misery, as his strength of reason declined, and his impatience increased. For he constantly felt great anguish of mind, on account of any bad or oppressive measures against the welfare of his country; which raked his honest heart, and raised his spleen,

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spleen, so that he took up his pen, against all evil instruments, while he was able to hold one; and how he dipped it in gall, to the terror of bad ministers in both kingdoms, need not be said. And whilst men of the greatest genius viewed him at a distance with envy, Dunces joined with weak men, the tools of party, to persecute him with their malice, for which they sometimes felt his lash. And being thus stung to the quick, those who survived him loaded his memory with calumny and vile insinuations, not one of which was founded on truth. He was the object of pity to every good man; and whilst he called upon some of his friends for their watchful care of him during his state of infirmity, the approaches of which he daily felt; he foresaw the last catastrophe of it with dread and horror. Those friends therefore, with the most melting concern, took that care of his person and effects that he wished for, while he lived a melancholy instance of the fall of human greatness.

The miseries that human nature is subject to made him often think it better never to have existed at all: This made him adopt * that maxim, *Non nasci homini longe optimum est*. And he often asked his friends their opinion of that matter. Upon this persuasion he always read the third chapter of *Job* on his birth-day. And whoever paid him a visit on that occasion in the morning, was sure to find that part of his Bible lying open on his reading desk. —The same sentiments are in a small tract, intitled, “Thoughts on Religion;” where he saith, “Although Reason were intended by Providence to govern our passions, yet it seems that, in two points of the greatest moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our passions to prevail over reason. “The first is, the propagation of our species; since no wise man ever married from the dictates of reason: The other is, the love of life; which, from the dictates of reason, every man would despise, and wish it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.” See vol. XVI. p. 248.

To sum up all in the words of his friend *Delany*: “He lived long an honour to the human mind; and died (as he had lived for some few later years) a sad monument

* Of this adoption, see *Bayle*, old edit. p. 2927.

“ of

"of the infirmities incident to it in this house of clay; and
 "a melancholy mortifying memento to the vanity of the
 "pride of parts." His life therefore does not afford less
 instruction, than his writings; since to the wise it may
 teach humility; and to the simple, content and resignation
 to the will of Divine Providence.

*The following passages, not being connected so closely with
 the paragraphs in Dean Swift's Life to which they were
 added, are here detached from the places where they
 stood, and printed together. Some of them have already
 been published.*

In the blank cover of a book, the Dean wrote this:
 "Under two lines ill written, Dec. 27, 1713.

"I waked at two this morning with the two above
 "lines in my head, which I had made in my sleep. And
 "I wrote them down in the dark, lest I should forget
 "them. But as the original words, being writ in the
 "dark, may possibly be mistaken by a careless or unskilful
 "transcriber, I shall give a fairer copy, that two such
 "precious lines may not be lost to posterity:

"I walk before no man, a hawk in his fist;

"Nor am I a brilliant whenever I list."

"The following question * is stated by one of the
 "Schoolmen. Supposing the whole body of the earth
 "were a great ball or mass of the finest sand, and that a
 "single grain or particle of this sand should be annihilated
 "every thousand years. Supposing then that you had it
 "in your choice to be happy all the while this prodigious
 "mass of sand was consuming by this slow method, until
 "there was not a grain of it left, on condition you were
 "to be miserable for ever after; or supposing that you
 "might be happy for ever after, on condition you would
 "be miserable until the whole mass of sand were thus
 "annihilated at the rate of one sand in a thousand years:
 "Which of these two cases would you make your
 "choice?"

Advertisement by the Dean, in his defence against
 Joshua lord Allen, Feb. 18, 1729; whom he has distin-

* Stated by Swift to Addison, Spectator, No 575.

guished,

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guished, in vol. VII. p. 140. under the name of *Traulus*.

“Whereas Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, Dean of *St. Patrick's*,
Dublin, hath been credibly informed, that, on *Friday*
the 13th of this instant *February*, a certain person did,
in a public place, and in the hearing of a great number,
apply himself to the right honourable the lord mayor of
this city, and some of his brethren, in the following
reproachful manner: “My lord, you and your city can
squander away the public money, in giving a gold box
to a fellow who hath libeled the government!” or words
to that effect. Now, if the said words, or words to
the like effect, were intended against him the said Dean,
and as a reflection on the right hon. the lord mayor,
aldermen, and commons, for the decreeing unanimously,
and in full assembly, the freedom of this city to the said
Dean, in an honourable manner, on account of an opi-
nion they had conceived of some services done by him
the said Dean to this city, and to the kingdom in ge-
neral: The said Dean doth declare, that the said words,
or words to the like effect, are insolent, false, scan-
dalous, malicious, and in a particular manner perfidious;
the said person, who is reported to have spoken the said
or the like words, having for some years past, and even
within some few days, professed a great friendship for
the said Dean; and, what is hardly credible, sending a
common friend of the Dean and himself, not many
hours after the said or the like words had been spoken,
to renew his profession of friendship to the said Dean,
but concealing the oratory; whereof the Dean had no
account till the following day, and then told it to all his
friends.”

On *July 22, 1735*, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and
Commons of *Dublin*, unanimously confirmed the grant of
a piece of ground in *Oustmantown Green* to Dr. *Swift*, in
order to erect his intended hospital thereon. But some
little time after he took offence at the board of aldermen,
upon this occasion: There were two candidates for the
place of physician to the *Blue Coat Hospital*, one of whom
was a Dissenter, and the other was a member of the
Established Church. As he espoused the cause of the
latter, he recommended it to some of his friends in that
board; but, when the election came on, they made choice
of

of the Presbyterian; which provoked him not a little, and the rather, as one of them defended it afterwards, when he was reproached for so doing, and said, he would do it if it was to be done again. Upon which the Dean, being determined to leave his fortune solely in the management of those who were friends of the establishment, went home, and altered his will, and appointed other trustees for his intended hospital, instead of the aldermen, who have erected the house in another place; where the charity is so well conducted to the satisfaction of the nation, that every second year the parliamentary bounty of 1000 *l.* is granted to the governors for making this good design of *Dr. Swift's* more beneficial to the publick.

A true and exact Account of the Taking and Apprehending several sorts of Rogues, for robbing the Garden of the Rev. Dr. Swift, D. S. P. D. By SOLOMON SHUTTLEWORTH, Drapier.

“WHEREAS an Advertisement was lately published by the Rev. *Dr. Swift*, offering a reward of two guineas, for the discovery of those who were concerned in robbing his vineyard near *St. Kevan's*: and whereas he gave a very particular description of one person, strongly suspected of the said robbery, *viz.* that he commonly wore a dark wig, and had an extraordinary ill countenance: Now, this is to acquaint the said *Dr. Swift*, that I *Solomon Shuttleworth*, Drapier, (thinking it the duty of every native of this kingdom to hinder that worthy patriot from injuries of all kinds) have taken a great deal of pains to detect the robber by seizing several persons, who in my opinion exactly answered every part of the description.

“On *Monday* last, I met a fellow with a dark wig, and a most villainous countenance, just coming out of the *Tholsel*; he had, methought, the look, and air, and gait, of a private robber; I ran and seized him instantly; called for assistance, and roared out my reasons for so doing; but I happened to be a little mistaken in the person, for the standers-by told me, he was an attorney at law in good practice, who had no occasion to rob gardens, since he had a more profitable way of making money, and with much greater security. In the evening I fixed on another in *St. John's Lane*, who seemed; by the paleness of his face, the lankness of his body, and sheepish cast of

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one of his eyes, together with a very dark wig, to be undoubtedly the person I was seeking. I seized him; he trembled, and cried that he was a taylor, with a large family, and swore that he never stole any thing in *that* way during his life.

“On *Thursday* last, I cast my eyes on a fellow, who had, I think, the worst of countenances, wrapt up in a dark wig; his look expressed a mixture of insolence and folly, not without a strong tincture of the highwayman in it: he seemed capable of the boldest villainies, and at first sight made me conclude him the robber I was seeking. As I was running to secure him, a friend of mine stopped me; persuaded me to desist, assuring me, that he knew the fellow I was going to attack; that his mind was still worse, if possible, than his face; that he would take an opportunity to cut my throat in a dark corner; that he seldom walked without murdering weapons about him; and that, after all, he was no chandler, but a common serjeant. I wonder the king will employ such ill-looking fellows, to be a living terror to his majesty's loyal subjects.

“In short, having escaped many dangers, by attacking multitudes with dark wigs and very ill countenances, I have, as yet, not fixed on the proper person; but shall still continue my zeal for the interest of that worthy patriot; and I thought it not improper to take this public method to testify it, being his most faithful servant,

Solomon Shuttleworth, Drapier.”

Dublin, Sept. 28, 1734.

PLOT UPON PLOT: A BALLAD.

[See vol. XXV. p. 33.]

I.

O H, wicked Whigs! what can you mean?
When will your plotting cease?
Against our most renowned Queen,
Her Ministry and Peace?

Your Protestant Succession's safe,
As our great men agree;
Bourbon has *Spain*, the Tories laugh;
Then heigh boys up go ye.

II.

Some of your *Machiavilian* crew,
 From heavy roof of *Paul*,
 Most traiterously stole every skrew,
 To make that fabrick fall;
 And so to catch her Majesty,
 And all her friends beguile,
 As birds are trap'd, by boys most fly,
 In pit-fail, with a tile.

III.

You for your bonfires Mawkins drest
 On good Queen *Bejs's* day,
 Whereby much Treason was exprest,
 As all true Churchmen say,
 Against the Devil and the Pope,
 The *French* our new Ally,
 And *Perkin* too, that youth of hope,
 On whom we all rely:

IV.

You sent your *Mobocks* next abroad
 With razors arm'd and knives,
 Who on night-walkers made inroad,
 And scar'd our maids and wives;
 They scower'd the watch,
 And windows broke,
 But 'twas their true intent
 (As our wise Ministry did smoke)
 T' o'erturn the Government.

V.

But now your last and blackest deed,
 What mortal can rehearse?
 The thought on't makes my heart to bleed;
 Oh, Muse! assist my verse:
 A Plot it was so deeply laid,
 So diabolical,
 Had not the secret been betray'd,
 In one 't had slain us all.

VI.

Two Inkhorn-tops you Whigs did fill
 With gun-powder and lead,
 Which, with two serpents made of quill,
 You in a Band-box laid:

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A Tinder-box there was beside
Which had a trigger to't,
To which the very string was ty'd
That was design'd to do't.

VII.

As Traitors spare nor care nor cost,
These crackers dire were sent
To th' Treasurer, *per* penny-post,
And safely so they went;
And if my lord had pull'd the thread,
Then up had blown the train;
And th' Ink-horns must have shot him dead,
Or else have burst in twain.

VIII.

But Fortune spar'd that precious life,
And so sav'd Church and Queen:
Good *Swift* was by, and had a knife
For corn or pen made keen;
"Stand off, my Lord!" cry'd he, "this thread
"To cut I will not doubt."
He cut; then op'd the Band-box lid,
And so the Plot came out.

IX.

Now God preserve our gracious Queen;
And, for this glorious deed,
May she the Doctor make a Dean
With all convenient speed!
What though the *Tub* hath hinder'd him,
As common story tells;
Yet surely now the *Band-box* whim
Will help him down to *Wells* *.

* Dr. *Swift* expected this Deanry; but was disappointed. See
vol. XXVI, p. 421.

"An Account of the Mock Procession of burning the Pope and the Chevalier de St. George, intended to be performed on the 17th instant, being the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth, of pious and glorious memory.

[See vol. XXV. p. 168.]

The Owners of the Pope, the Chevalier *de St. George*, fourteen Cardinals, and as many Devils, which were taken out of an house in *Drury Lane*, at midnight, between the 16th and 17th Instant, and exposed to view at *The Cockpit* for nothing (on the latter of those days), think fit to acquaint the world, that their intention in making them was, with those and other images (in case their goods had not been forcibly taken away), to have formed the following Procession.

TWENTY Watchmen, to clear the way, with link-boys lighting them on each side.

Twenty-four Bagpipes marching four and four, and playing the memorable tune of *Lillibullero*.

Ten Watchmen marching two and two, to prevent disorder.

Four Drums in mourning, with the Pope's arms in their caps.

A figure representing Cardinal *Gualteri*, lately made by the Pretender Protector of the *English* nation, looking down on the ground in a sorrowful posture; his train supported by two Missionaries from *Rome*, supposed to be now in *England*.

Two Pages, throwing beads, bulls, pardons, and indulgences.

Two Jack-puddings sprinkling holy water.

Twelve Hautboys playing the tune of *The Greenwood Tree*.

Two Lackeys on each side of them, bearing streamers with these words, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare*, being the device on the colours of the Right Reverend the Bishop of *London's* troops when he marched into *Oxford* in the year 1688.

Six Beadles with Protestant flails in their hands.

These followed by four persons bearing streamers, each with the pictures of the seven Bishops who were sent to *The Tower*.

Twelve Monks, representing the Fellows who were put into *Magdalen College in Oxford*, on the expulsion of the Protestants.

Twelve Streamer-bearers, with different devices, representing sandals, ropes, beads, bald pates, and big-bellied Nuns.

A Lawyer, representing the Clerk of the High-Commission Court.

Twelve Heralds marching one after another, at a great distance, with pamphlets, setting forth King *James II's* power of dispensing with the Test and Penal Laws.

On each side of the Heralds, fifty links.

After these, four fat Friars in their habits, streamers carried over their heads, with these words, "Eat and pray."

Four Jesuits in *English* habits, with flower-de-luces on their shoulders, inscribed "Indefeasible;" and masks on their faces, on which is writ, "The House of *Hanover*."

Four Jesuits in their proper habits.

Four Cardinals of *Rome* in their red hats curiously wrought.

The Pope under a magnificent canopy, with a right silver fringe, accompanied by the Chevalier *St. George* on the left, and his counsellor the Devil on his right.

The whole Procession closed, by twenty streamers, on each of which was wrought these words,

"God blefs *Queen Anne*, the nation's great defender!

"Keep out the *French*, the Pope, and the Pretender."

In this order it was intended, with proper reliefs of lights at several stations in the march, to go thorough *Drury Lane, Longacre, Gerard Street, Piccadilly, Germain Street, St. James's Square, Pell-mell, Strand, Katherine Street, Russel Street, Drury Lane, Great Queen Street, Little Queen Street, Holborn, Newgate Street, Cornhill, Bishopsgate Street*, where they were to wheel about, and return thorough *St. Paul's Church Yard to Fleet Street*; and at *The Temple*, before the statue of that illustrious lady whose Anniversary was then celebrated, that Queen wearing a veil, on which are drawn the picture of her present Majesty, and under it the battles of *Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde*, and the passage of the Lines in this present year 1711.

After

After proper ditties were sung, the Pretender was to have been committed to the flames, being first absolved by the Cardinal *Gualteri*. After that, the said Cardinal was to be absolved by the Pope, and burnt. And then the Devil was to jump into the flames, with his Holiness in his arms.

And let all the people say, *Amen.*"

LETTER to the Earl of CHESTERFIELD,
from Mr. FAULKNER *

"My Lord,

"HAVING been often solicited, by you and many other persons of learning and consequence, to write some anecdotes of Dr. *Swift*, I always told you my incapacity for such a task; that I had not leisure, from my own business; and that, as there were many authors who had already published his life, I could say very little after them. However, in compliance with your commands, I send you some particulars of that great and good man.

"In his very early days, he was fond of knowing variety of life, in all shapes whatever, from the beggar to the prince. When he was a child, he left his mother, to go a strolling with some vagrant gypsies, who treated him

* The character of Mr. *Faulkner*, the writer of this letter, is sufficiently known as a man of integrity, to preclude all doubts concerning the authenticity of the facts which are contained in it, as far as any of them fell under his own observation. It is not however so certain, but that his credulity might be imposed upon; and on that account some of the anecdotes mentioned in the former part of the letter must be relied upon with caution. Perhaps some of the circumstances may be thought too trifling and unimportant to deserve notice; but as, in the opinion of many readers, the most insignificant matters derive a degree of consequence from the character of the persons they are connected with, the Editor did not consider himself at liberty to abridge this epistle of the honest bookseller, which he seems to have been prompted to write by the recommendation of his friend the earl of *Chesterfield*, to whom it is addressed. See Letter III. from Lord *Chesterfield* to *George Faulkner*.

very ill, because he would not steal poultry and linen for them, on which he left them at the end of three days, and made what haste he could home.

“ At other times he was a waggoner’s boy, a boot-catcher, an ostler, a waiter at a tavern; would sometimes dress himself like a weaver, a shoemaker, and other journeymen in *London*, to get into the knowledge of their professions. But his greatest desire was to be a footman to a lady, for which purpose he would hire livery cloaths, inquire for service at their houses or lodgings; but, on examination for his character and discharges, and inquiry into his behaviour at the places he said he had lived, he was always disappointed, which gave him great concern.

“ He took a frolick, when he was a young man, to borrow a beggar’s cloaths, in which disguise he went to a neighbouring farmer’s in *Gloucestershire*, when all the family were at work in the fields at harvest-time, excepting the wife, to whom he applied for alms, pretending to be very lame and helpless; but, instead of meeting with relief, she abused him, calling him thief, rogue, and robber, and made a hideous noise, which alarmed the husband and the servants so much, that they all ran to the house; but, before they got thither, *Swift* took to his heels, and escaped; after which he never again attempted to beg, and often said, that young beggars got very little by their strolling trade in *England*.

“ When lord *Berkeley*, one of the lords justices of *Ireland*, was in that kindom, to whom Dr. *Swift* was chaplain, lady *Betty Berkeley* his daughter was very fond of reading the great Mr. *Boyle’s* Meditations, and frequently desired Mr. *Swift* to read to her; but, being one time interrupted by company, he stumped, and my lady desired him to fold down the leaf where he left off: next day her ladyship requested him to read to her again; when he began with the Meditation on a Broom-stick, which pleased her so extremely well, that she ran in the highest raptures on Mr. *Boyle*, who could write so religiously on a Broomstick. But lady *Betty*, opening the book some time after, found the Meditation on the Broomstick in Mr. *Swift’s* hand-writing, and stuck in at the place where he had been reading. This had the desired effect, as Mr. *Swift* never was called upon again to read to her ladyship.

“ When

“When the Dean was in *London*, he agreed with Mr. *Pope* and Mr. *Gay* to take a journey into the country for about a fortnight, and ordered his servants (who were on board-wages) to prepare themselves; but one of them, who was a stranger in *England*, did not come to his master's lodgings until he had set out, which threw the poor man into the greatest agonies, being entirely destitute of money and friends; upon which, he hired himself to a farmer at *Iffington*, to make hay, and when he expected the Dean in town, he enquired for him at his lodgings; when his master asked him, how he dared to be absent, and not to attend him down in the country? The poor fellow answered, he had overslept himself, and was distracted when he heard he was gone to the country, as he had no money or friends in *London*, owed for the rent of his lodgings, which he could not pay, and was afraid of being taken up for an *Irish* robber. Which story so pleased and moved the Dean, that he again took him into his favour, gave him double board-wages for the time he was absent, and made him a present of three guineas for his great industry.

“Some time after Dr. *Swift* came to the Deanry of *St. Patrick's*, taking his rounds through the liberty of his precinct, he saw a nailer and his wife at work very early in the morning, and, stopping to talk with them, asked, “How much money they earned in a week, what children they had, and how much money to carry on trade?” They answered, “They had five children, no stock, nor any money to carry on business, nor could they ever have a penny at the week's end, being obliged to pay very dear for iron rods they got from the iron-monger, who employed them to make nails, which he had very cheap from them, and made them pay the highest price for the rod-iron, as he gave them credit, and took it out in work; and, what with the expence of rent, coals, and maintenance of their children, they could never have one half-penny before-hand.” The Dean then asked the man, “how much money would be sufficient to buy in rod-iron and coals, and to sell his nails to another iron-monger, and to dispose of some in his own shop?” The nailer answered, “Thirty shillings, which would make him very happy.” The Dean replied, “Suppose I should lend you that money, how do you propose to pay it?” The nailer answered,

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answered, "By a shilling a week." "Then, said the Dean, I will advance you three guineas, to be paid me by a shilling every week; I insist upon your being punctual in the payment, very honest, and very industrious, which is the surest way to thrive." The Dean, although he often passed by the shop, which was in *New Street*, near the Dean's liberty, seeing the nailer still continue his industry, did not call to him in three years; then asked him, "How his wife and children were? what stock in trade he had by him? and whether he could pay him the money he lent him?" The nailer immediately shewed him his wife and children, who were very clean and decently dressed; told him how much his trade and stock were increased; "that he had the money ready to pay him, for which he, his wife, and children, were most thankful, as in duty bound, for their extreme happiness from so generous and good a benefactor; and that, after paying the Dean, he had thirteen guineas and odd money, and was out of debt." This debt the Dean refused; and made the nailer a present of five guineas more, for his great industry and œconomy. This, it is reported, was the first cause of the Dean's lending small sums to poor industrious tradesmen.

"No man was ever more liberal to his friends, or to worthy people in distress. When he came to the Deanry of *St. Patrick's*, it was then worth 700 *l.* a year, and he had two other livings in *commendam* with that, which made his income 900 *l. per annum*, which he endeavoured to divide into three parts, for the following purposes; first, to live upon one-third of it; secondly, to give another third in pensions and charities, according to the manner in which the people who received them had lived; and the other third he laid-by, to build an hospital for the reception of idiots and lunatics: but he did not strictly adhere to these rules; for, being a most regular and temperate man, and keeping no more than three saddle-horses, two servants in livery, a house-keeper, and maid, who were all at board-wages, he did not spend half his income upon himself, servants, and horses; and therefore he must have given more than half his income in pensions and charitable uses during his life; which is confirmed by the fortune he left behind him, which did not amount to 11,000 *l.* although he laid-by money every year, which at common interest,

interest, and according to the above-mentioned scheme of œconomy, would have amounted to more than double that sum; and what is remarkable in this generous man, that when he lent money upon bond or mortgage, he would not take the legal interest, but one *per cent.* below it.

“He could not be charged with prodigality or extravagance, but in one instance, and that was in having a compleat service of silver plate; his dishes, plates, covers for both, and his monteiths for cooling his claret and port wine in summer-time, being all silver, which might have cost 1000 pounds. This made him often say, “I am the “poorest man in *Ireland* that hath a service of plate; and “richest dignified clergyman who doth not keep a coach “or a chariot.”

“In the year 1715, when *James Butler Duke of Ormond*, who went from *England* to *France* to avoid the persecution of party, was afterwards degraded from all his honours and titles, to the degree of a yeoman; his pictures and coat of arms were taken down, and cut in pieces in the most ignominious manner, in all public places where he had titles or employments, and particularly in the universities of *Oxford* and *Dublin*, of which places he was chancellor; and when *Mr. Hawkins, Ulster King of Arms in Ireland*, came to the cathedral church of *St. Patrick's, Dublin*, attended by proper officers, to take down the arms of the *Ormond* family, which were then in that church*, and where they continue, the Dean would not permit him to touch them, or suffer so great an indignity to be offered to that family, or to himself or his chapter; which was the only instance of opposition in the king's dominions: in which he acted with unparalleled friendship to that great but unhappy nobleman, as well as in preserving the rights and dignity of himself, and the independency of his chapter.

“*Dr. Swift* always lived in the strictest friendship with people of genius and learning, and seldom broke with

* The arms of that noble family had been handsomely painted at the back of the organ long before, in remembrance of benefits received from the first of that name after the restoration of king *Charles II.*

them

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them on account of party principles. I have seen the most friendly and affectionate letters between him and Mr. *Addison*, and shall give you the following :

“ To the Reverend Dr. SWIFT,

“ Dear Sir,

Dublin, June 3, 1710.

“ I AM just now come from *Finglas*, where I have been drinking your health, and talking of you, with one who loves and admires you better than any man in the world, except your humble servant. We both agree in a request, that you will set out for *Dublin* as soon as possible. To tell you truly, I find the place disagreeable, and cannot imagine why it should appear so now more than it did last year. You know I look upon every thing that is like a compliment as a breach of friendship; and therefore shall only tell you, that I long to see you; without assuring you, that I love your company and value your conversation more than any man's, or that I am, with the most inviolable sincerity and esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most faithful, most humble,

And most obedient servant,

J. ADDISON.”

“ Mr. *Addison* was one of the few who were sincere in their friendship * to Dr. *Swift*, of which he gave a noble instance. Early in the reign of King *George I.* his Majesty appointed the earl of *Sunderland* lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, and recommended Mr. *Addison* to him for his secretary; for which Mr. *Addison* was very thankful. “ But then, said my lord, there are some people in *Ireland* who are not agreeable to me, with whom I hope you will not converse when you go thither.” Mr. *Addison* answered, “ He was much obliged to his Majesty for the honour intended him; but that he could not comply with his excellency's request, as he would not sacrifice his friendship for Dr. *Swift*, to be made chief governor of that kingdom.”

“ On the 5th of *November 1709*, Dr. *Sacheverell* † preached a sermon suited to the day at *St. Paul's cathedral*,

* See his own account of this, vol. XX. p. 136.

† Of whom, see vol. XXV. p. 205.

London,

London, before the lord mayor and court of aldermen, which sermon was printed, and censured by the house of commons for a malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel, highly reflecting on her majesty *Queen Anne*, her government, the late happy Revolution, and the Protestant succession. On *December 15*, *Dr. Sacheverell* was impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, taken into custody of the serjeant at arms, and impeached at the bar of the house of lords, in the name of the commons of *Great Britain*, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and delivered into custody of the deputy gentleman usher of the black rod; was tried before the lords, and found guilty on the 20th of *March* following. The doctor, by order of the lords spiritual and temporal, was silenced for three years from preaching; and that sermon and another were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman before *The Royal Exchange* in *London*; which was accordingly executed. When this affair was over, the ministry took very little notice of him, and treated him with great indifference: but, upon the rectory of *St. Andrew's, Holborn*, being vacant, the doctor applied to them for that living, but they had no regard to his solicitation; upon which he wrote to *Dr. Swift*, with whom he had a very slender acquaintance, to request his interest with the government for that parish; and set forth, how much he had suffered for them and their cause. *Dr. Swift* immediately carried this letter to lord *Bolingbroke*, then secretary of state; who railed much at *Sacheverell*, calling him a busy, intermeddling fellow, a prig, and an incendiary, who had set the kingdom in a flame which could not be extinguished, and therefore deserved censure instead of a reward. To which *Swift* replied, "True, my lord; but, let me tell you a short story: In a sea-fight in the reign of *Charles II*, there was a very bloody engagement between the *English* and *Dutch* fleets, in the heat of which a *Scotch* seaman was very severely bit by a louse on his neck, which he caught, and, stooping down to crack it between his nails, many of the sailors near him had their heads taken off by a chain shot from the enemy, which dashed their blood and brains about him; on which he had compassion upon the poor louse, returned him to his place, and bid him live there at discretion; for, as he had saved his life, he was bound in

gratitude

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gratitude to save his." The recital of this put my lord *Bolingbroke* into a fit of laughter; who, when it was over, said, "The house shall have the living for your story." And, soon after, *Sacheverell* was presented to it.

"A young clergyman, the son of a bishop of *Ireland*, having married without the knowledge of his friends, it gave umbrage to his family, who on that account were very angry, and his father would not see him. Dr. *Swift*, being in company with him some time after, said, "That, when he was a school-boy at *Kilkenny*, he longed very much to have a horse of his own to ride on; that one day he saw a poor man leading a very mangy, lean horse out of the town, to kill him for the skin and the shoes. *Swift*, being much moved, asked the man, if he would sell him? The bargain was very soon made; and *Swift* gave him all the money he had, which was about eighteen pence: the purchaser immediately got on him, to the very great envy of some of his school-fellows, and to the ridicule of others, and rode him about the town, but the horse very soon tired, and lay down. *Swift*, who had no stable for him, nor any money to pay for his grazing, hay, or oats, began to cry, and wept for the money. But the horse died immediately, which gave the owner great relief." To this the young clergyman answered, "Sir, your story is very good, and applicable to me. I own I deserve it;" and then burst into a flood of tears. The Dean made no reply, but went the next day to the lord lieutenant, prevailed on him to give the young gentleman a small parish which was then vacant, to support him and his wife, and soon after made a reconciliation between the father and the son.

"Being in company one day with Dr. *Bolton* archbishop of *Cashel*, and Dr. *Edward Synge* bishop of *Elphin*, and other trustees of the linen manufacture; he asked them, why that board did not elect him a trustee, that he might have it in his power to serve his country? The archbishop answered, *That he was too sharp a razor, and would cut them all.* To which the Dean made no reply.

"He could never prevail on lord *Carteret* to make him a trustee of the linen board, or to recommend him to be a justice of the peace, although he was in the
greatest

greatest intimacy and friendship with his excellency*; who said, "I am sure, Mr. Dean, you despise both those feathers, and would not accept of them." The Dean replied, "No, my lord, I do not, as I might be serviceable to the publick in both capacities; but, as I would not be governed by your excellency, nor jobb at that board, or suffer abuses to pass there, or at quarter sessions or assizes, I know you will not indulge me for the good of this unhappy nation: but, if I were a worthless member of parliament, or a bishop, would vote for the court, and betray my country, then you would readily grant my request." To which his excellency rejoined, with great freedom and politeness, "What you say is literally true, and therefore you must excuse me."

"The Dean took much pains to be well informed in all affairs relating to *Wood's* halfpence, and the constitutions and laws of *England* and *Ireland* relating to the prerogative of the crown and the liberties of the people; which made him take more time in writing the *Drapier's Letters* than any other parts of his works; the shortest of which letters took up at least ten days time to finish, and to write them according to law, and to the level and understanding of the most illiterate of the common people.

"He was held in such veneration and honour by all the members of his chapter, that they unanimously voted him 20*l.* a year out of their *æconomy*, to keep the deanry-house in repair; and, on account of giving up the use of this house for their public institution, and as a further mark of their esteem, they had his picture painted at full length by Mr. *Bindon*, the most eminent painter in *Ireland*, who had several poems wrote to him, in *Latin* and *English*, upon his fine performance; which picture is

* The Dean having one day waited at the Castle, for an audience of lord *Carteret*, till his patience was exhausted, wrote the following couplet on a window, and went away:

"My very good lord, 'tis a very hard task,

"For a man to wait here, who has nothing to ask."

To which the Earl subjoined this answer:

"My very good Dean, there are few who come here,

"But have something to ask, or something to fear."

We have been informed, this happened whilst the prosecution for the *Drapier's Fourth Letter* was depending."

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the property of all succeeding deans and chapters, and placed in the large parlour of the deanry-house, with a fine carved *Irish* oak frame round it.

"At a commencement in *Trinity College, Dublin*, some time about the year 1734, Dr. *Swift* came into the regent house, where the vice-chancellor, doctors, and masters, were sitting. On his entrance, the master nearest the door rose up, and so on in succession until he advanced towards the head of the room, where the Vice-chancellor, Doctor *Stearne* bishop of *Clogher*, and Dr. *Baldwin* Provost, sat as presidents; and, notwithstanding all the discouragements of the vice-chancellor and others at that end of the room, almost every one found themselves in a disposition to rise up. The same happened to *Virgil* in the senate of *Rome*.

"Alderman *Barber*, who was lord mayor of *London* in the year 1733, and had printed several political * pieces for Dr. *Swift*, made a present of the Dean's picture † to the university of *Oxford*.

"The rev. Mr. *Harte*, an eminent poet, and author of the life of *Gustavus Adolphus*, hath informed some of his friends, that he had read *eleven* sermons of the Dean's, which he had lent to Mr. *Pope*, who assured Mr. *Harte*, they were the best he ever had read; and Mr. *Harte* hath said the same, who was very circumstantial in telling, 'they were not only stitched together, but in a black leather case; that they were among Mr. *Pope's* papers, when he died; and that he believed that Dr. *Warburton*, who had the revival and publication of all *Pope's* writings after his death, might have seen them;" if so, it is hoped that learned gentleman will oblige the world with the publication of so vast a treasure.

"Dr. *Swift* frequently cleaned his library, to clear it of rubbish, and often burned MSS. of his own, which

* Mr. *Faulkner* had a letter from the Dean to the Alderman, directing him to return what manuscripts he had of *Swift's*; amongst which was, "Free Thoughts on the present State of "Affairs;" which, Mr. *Barber* said, was ready for the press when the Queen died; but, upon messengers being sent to search his printing office, he and his journeymen broke the forms to pieces before they got admittance.

† See the inscription on this picture, vol. XIV. p. 296.

did not please him. One day in particular he brought above thirty of his sermons from the study into his bed-chamber, where he was going to throw them into the fire; and being asked, what papers they were? he answered, "Old sermons, which I shall never preach again!" Upon which, Dr. *Sheridan* begged them, saying, "they would be very useful to him, who might preach very often;" on which the Dean gave them to him. Three of these sermons, to wit; on the Trinity, on the Testimony of Conscience, and of Mutual Subjection, were published after Dr. *Sheridan's* death by his eldest son *Thomas*, who hath made a great figure as an excellent player, and also an author, by his treatise on *British* education. What became of the others, we cannot tell: but five other discourses, with great difficulty, have been procured, and added to the foregoing*.

"The Dean, in his tour through *Ireland*, visiting *Waterford*, enquired who were the clergy resident there? Amongst them *Robinson* was his acquaintance, and accepted the Dean's invitation to shew him the city. Passing near the remains of an old public building, the Dean observed a carved stone; it was at some small distance, but the way to it so covered with the most nauseous filth, that he prevailed on *Robinson* to carry him thither on his back. When he had satisfied his curiosity, by viewing the arms of the city, with this motto, *Urbs intacta manet*; he returned to his inn, and wrote the following stanza:

URBS INTACTA MANET—*semperque intacta manebit:*
Tangere Crabrones quis bene janus amat?

Robinson enquired the meaning of *Crabrones*; the Dean asked him if he had ever, until that day, travelled through a country of hornets; but, said the Dean, for the benefit of our female friends, I will translate the epigram. After a very short pause, he did it thus:

A Thistle is the *Scottish* arms,
 Which to the toucher threatens harms;
 What are the arms of *Waterford*?
 That no man touches—but a T—d.

* There are *twelve* now in this collection.

SUPPL. I. [XXV.]

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"When

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“ When he travelled in the country, he would often buy half-penny’s worth of tobacco, which is usually sold by measure when retailed, to give to poor *Irish* people, who are very fond of this disagreeable weed. At one place, where he thought the measure too large, he bought thirty-two half-penny worths, and desired the person who sold it to weigh them all together, which was done, and the tobacco came to three shillings and six-pence; on which he blamed the man for his folly, and made a measure for him, by which he got a reasonable profit, instead of being ruined.

“ He went to church three times on *Sundays*: in the morning to his own cathedral; in the afternoon, to the *French* church (under the roof with *St. Patrick’s* cathedral); and, in the evening, to the cathedral again, where divine service was performed in the most grand and solemn manner, and much resorted to by persons of the greatest quality and distinction.

“ Fires have sometimes happened in *Dublin*, by which people of all denominations have been sufferers; upon which melancholy occasions, the Dean always exerted himself, not only in person, by going from house to house, to make collections for them; but would write and recommend their melancholy cases to the public; would go to the afflicted sufferers, offer them his service, and would be the first to subscribe in a most princely and generous manner to their relief; which worthy example of his the benevolent Citizens of *Dublin* would imitate.

“ He once had a design of leaving 3000*l.* a year for ever, to be lent out at interest, in small sums, not exceeding twenty pounds, which every year would increase three hundred pounds, out of which only thirty pounds a year was to be paid to a clerk: but some great men of the law advised him to the contrary, and said, that, instead of being a public good, it would become a monopoly, great men would endeavour to be trustees, and, instead of serving the poor, would apply this money to their own uses; upon which, the Dean laid this design aside.

“ His acquaintance consisted of the best and greatest men of *Ireland*, archbishop *King*, Dr. *Helsbam*, Dr. *Delany*, Dr. *Bolton*, &c. When these persons died, he fought for no acquaintance but with those of middling understanding

understanding and small fortunes ; which gave him an opportunity of improving their minds, and shewing his liberality and generosity to them, whose chair and coach-hire he would pay in a most bountiful manner, whenever they waited on him : and it was a constant practice with him, when he dined with persons of inferior fortune to himself, to carry a small joint of meat, a fowl, or fish, with bread, wine, salt, pepper, and vinegar, table-cloth, or napkins ; which no one took amiss, but gave him his way, as it was always thought an honour to have his company. This custom he practised in the country ten miles about the city. He was always attended by two servants when he went out of town ; each of whom he made to carry a single boot, to prevent any pride, jealousy, or strife, between them.

“ It was sometimes a custom with him, to allow a *Saturnalia* to his servants (according to the old *Roman* custom) ; at which time he would attend them with gentlemen of his acquaintance, and allow them a genteel entertainment, with all the freedom and talk they could use.

“ He was very indulgent to young authors, by giving them good advice, correcting their works, and telling them where they were mistaken.

“ One *Sunday* being at *Donnybrook* church, near *Dublin*, *Dr. Whittingham*, archdeacon of the diocese, not coming in time, the Dean went into the church, put on a surplice, began the service, and was reading the first lesson when the archdeacon entered : and, when he came into the desk, the Dean took off the surplice, gave it to him, and desired him to go on, shewing him the last verse he had read ; which he was obliged to comply with. This astonished the congregation, but particularly the archdeacon, who asked the Dean the cause of such behaviour. To which he answered, “ You should not keep so many people waiting for you, some of whom perhaps have several miles to ride to dinner, which may be spoiled by your delay.”

“ The following story the Dean told *Mrs. Pilkington* :
 “ A clergyman *, who was a most learned fine gentleman,
 “ but under the softest and politest appearance concealed

* *Dr. Bolton*; of whom, see vol. XXVI. p. 135.

“ the most turbulent ambition, having made his merit as
 “ a preacher too eminent to be overlooked, had it early
 “ rewarded with a mitre. Dr. *Swift* went to congratulate
 “ him on it; but told him, he hoped, as his lordship was
 “ a native of *Ireland*, and had now a seat in the house of
 “ peers, he would employ his powerful elocution in the
 “ service of his distressed country. The prelate told him,
 “ the bishoprick was but a very small one, and he could
 “ not hope for a better if he did not oblige the court.”
 “ Very well,” says *Swift*; “ then it is to be hoped, when
 “ you have a better, you will become an honest man.”
 “ Ay, that I will, Mr. Dean,” says he. “ Till then,
 “ my Lord, farewell,” answered *Swift*. This prelate
 “ was twice translated to richer sees; and, on every trans-
 “ lation, Dr. *Swift* waited on him to remind him of his
 “ promise, but to no purpose; there was now an arch-
 “ bishoprick in view, and till that was obtained, nothing
 “ could be done. Having in a short time likewise got this, he
 “ then sent for the Dean, and told him, “ I am now at
 “ the top of my preferment; for I well know that no
 “ *Irishman* will ever be made primate; therefore, as I can
 “ rise no higher in fortune or station, I will zealously
 “ promote the good of my country.” And from that
 “ time he became a most zealous patriot.

“ Some time before the Dean’s memory failed him, Dr.
Delany went to visit him one morning, and asked, “ Mr.
 Dean, how do you ?” He answered, “ I am not the Dean,
 “ I am not what I was; pity me, and pray for me.”

“ For many years before he died, he was afraid of losing
 his memory; which made him dread a long life. This
 misfortune he was so very sensible of, that he drew the
 strongest picture of it imaginable, in the character of the
Struldbrugs, in *Gulliver’s Travels*.

“ One time, in a journey from *Drogheda* to *Narvan*, he
 rode before his company, made a sudden stop, dismounted
 his horse, fell on his knees, lifted up his hands, and
 prayed in the most devout manner. When his friends
 came up, he desired and insisted on their alighting, which
 they did, and asked him the meaning. “ Gentlemen,” said
 he, “ pray join your hearts in fervent prayer with mine,
 “ that I may never be like this oak tree, which is de-
 “ cayed and withered at the top, whilst all the other parts
 “ are sound.”

“ Another

"Another time, walking with Dr. *Young* the celebrated poet, and some others, about a mile from *Dublin*, the Dean stopped short. The company passed on; but, not seeing him follow, Dr. *Young* went back, and found the Dean fixed as a statue, earnestly gazing at a lofty elm, which in its uppermost branches was much withered and decayed. Pointing to it, he said, "I shall be like that tree, I shall die at top*."

"*Swift* never was very outrageous, but his memory failed him by degrees for many years together; insomuch that he forgot all his friends and domestics, could not call any of them by their names, nor for cloaths, food, or any necessaries that he wanted; in short, his forgetfulness grew so much upon him, he could not remember any one passage of his life, nor read, nor even tell his letters, for near two years before his death. He likewise lost the use of his speech, excepting now and then uttering some incoherent rambling words, being incapable of asking any questions, or of returning answers, nor could he ask even for one necessary of life. During this melancholy situation, great care was taken of his person and food, as he was incapable of dressing, undressing, or of helping himself to his cloaths or victuals; and so totally was he deprived of all rational faculties, that he was treated like a new-born infant, being taken out of bed, dressed, led about the room by the servants and nurse-keepers, fed, undressed, and put into bed like the youngest child, and had the actions of one, being fond of gold or silver toys, which he would play with, or put into his mouth.

"The Dean was of middle stature, well made, and comely, with very good regular features, an high forehead, handsome nose, large sparkling blue eyes very piercing (which had their lustre to the last, although he read very much, but never made use of spectacles or glasses), an exceeding agreeable mouth, a fine regular set of teeth, and round double chin with a small dimple. His complexion, a light olive or pale brown.—When he was dead, Mr. *White-way*, an eminent surgeon, nearly

* This circumstance is confirmed by Dr. *Young* himself. See "Conjectures on Original Composition." *Young's Works*, vol. V. p. 116.

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related to him, opened the skull, and found much water in the brain. I am,

Your Lordship's most dutiful, &c."

To the Testimonies of eminent Authors which have been exhibited in vol. XIV. p. 297—304, we shall here annex some others descriptive of the Dean, both as a Man and as a Writer.

"Few characters could have afforded so great a variety of faults and beauties. Few men have been more known and admired, or more envied or censured, than Dr. *Swift*. From the gifts of nature, he had great powers; and, from the imperfections of humanity, he had many failings. I always considered him as an *abstract and brief chronicle of the times*; no man being better acquainted with human nature, both in the highest and in the lowest scenes of life. His friends and correspondents were the greatest and most eminent men of the age. The sages of antiquity were often the companions of his closet; and although he industriously avoided an ostentation of learning, and generally chose to draw his materials from his own store; yet his knowledge in the antient authors evidently appears, from the strength of his sentiments, and the classic correctness of his style."

ORRERY.

"The character of his Life will appear like that of his Writings. They will both bear to be re-considered and re-examined with the utmost attention; and will always discover new beauties and excellencies upon every examination. They will bear to be considered as the sun, in which the brightness will hide the blemishes; and whenever petulance, ignorance, pride, malice, malignity, or envy, interpose, to cloud or sully his fame, I will take upon me to pronounce, that the eclipse will not last long. No man ever deserved better of any country than *Swift* did of his; a steady, persevering, inflexible friend; a wise, a watchful, and a faithful counsellor, under many severe trials, and bitter persecutions, to the manifest hazard both of his liberty and fortune!—He lived a blessing, he died a benefactor, and his name will ever live an honour, to *Ireland*."

DELANY.

"If

“If we deduct somewhat from report, which is apt to add to the oddities of men of note, the greatest part of his conduct may be accounted for by the common operations of human nature.—“*Choler*, Lord Bacon observes, puts men on action; when it grows adust, it turns to melancholy.” In *Swift*, that humour seems to have been predominant; governed, however, even his younger days, with a fund of good sense, and an early experience of the world. He was thrown luckily, in the prime of life, into the family of a great personage, where he had the happiness of an interview with a monarch; from whence he had reasonable hopes of satisfying his towering ambition. But he found them followed by nothing but disappointment. In a course of years, honours seemed a second time to make their court to him. He came into favour with a prime-minister under another reign, even when different principles prevailed from those which guided his former patron; a rare felicity! which, however, in the event, served only to convince him, that he was banished to *Ireland* for life, and that all hopes were cut off of his rising, even there, any higher than the Deanry. What would one of his parts and wit do in such a situation, but drop mankind as much as possible, especially the higher class of it, which to a man of humour is naturally a restraint; where, at best, as he observes, the only difference is, to have two candles on the table instead of one? What, I say, would such a one do, but cultivate an acquaintance with those who were disappointed like himself? what but write compliments on ladies, lampoons on men in power, sarcasms on human nature, trifle away life between whim and resentment, just as the bile arose or subsided? He had sense, and I believe religion, enough to keep him from vice; and, from a consciousness of his integrity, was less solicitous about the appearances of virtue, or even decency, which is often the counterfeit of it. The patriot principle, which he had imbibed in queen *Anne's* reign, lurked at the bottom of his heart; which, as it was more active in those days than since, sometimes roused him to defend the church, and *Ireland* his asylum, against any new incroachments.—View him now in his decline. Passions decay, and the lamp of life and reason grows dim. It is the fate of many, I may say most geniuses, who have secluded themselves from the world,

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to lose their senses in their old age; especially those who have worn them out in thought and application. Providence, perhaps, has therefore ordained, that the eyes, the inlets of knowledge, should be impaired, before the understanding, the repository of it, is decayed; that the defects of the former may protract the latter. Few of us are enough sensible how much the conjugal tie, and the several connexions which follow from it, how much even domestic troubles, when surmountable, are the physick of the soul; which, at the same time that they quicken the senses, preserve them too." BOWYER.

"If we consider his prose works, we shall find a certain masterly conciseness in their style, that has never been equalled by any other writer. The truth of this assertion will more evidently appear, by comparing it with some of the Authors of his own time. Of these Dr. Tillotson and Mr. Addison are to be numbered amongst the most eminent. Addison has all the powers that can captivate and improve: his diction is easy, his periods are well turned, his expressions are flowing, and his humour is delicate. Tillotson is nervous, grave, majestic, and perspicuous. We must join both these characters together, to form a true idea of Dr. Swift: yet, as he outdoes Addison in humour, he excels Tillotson in perspicuity. The Archbishop indeed confined himself to subjects relative to his profession; but Addison and Swift are more diffusive writers. They continually vary in their manner, and treat different topics in a different style. When the writings of Addison terminate in party, he loses himself extremely; and, from a delicate and just comedian, deviates into one of the lowest kind. (See the *Freeholder*.) Not so Dr. Swift; he appears like a masterly gladiator. He wields the sword of party with ease, justness, and dexterity; and while he entertains the ignorant and the vulgar, he draws an equal attention from the learned and the great. When he is serious, his gravity becomes him. When he laughs, his readers must laugh with him. Politicks were his favourite topic, as they give him an opportunity of gratifying his ambition, and thirst of power: yet, even in this road, he seldom continued long in one particular path. He has written miscellaneously, and has chosen rather to appear a wandering comet, than a fixed star. Had he applied the faculties of his mind to

"one

“one great and useful work, he must have shined more gloriously, and might have enlightened a whole planetary system in the political world*.

“The poetical performances of Dr. *Swift* ought to be considered as occasional poems written either to please or to vex some particular persons. We must not suppose them designed for posterity; if he had cultivated his genius in that way, he must certainly have excelled, especially in satire. We see fine sketches in several of his pieces: but he seems more desirous to inform and strengthen his mind, than to indulge the luxuriancy of his imagination. He chooses to discover and correct errors in the works of others, rather than to illustrate and add beauties to his own. Like a skilful artist, he is fond of probing wounds to their depth, and of enlarging them to open view. He prefers causticks, which corrode proud flesh, to softer balsamicks, which give more immediate ease. He aims to be severely useful, rather than politely engaging; and as he was either not formed, or would not take pains, to excel in poetry, he became in some measure superior to it; and assumed more the air and manners of a critick, than of a poet. Had he lived in the same age with *Horace*, he would have approached nearer to him than any other poet: and if we may make an allowance for the different course of study, and different form of government, to

* Let us hear a celebrated Modern's too rigid description of our Author: “In *Swift* we see a turn of mind very different from that of the amiable *Thomson*; little relish for the sublime or beautiful, and a perpetual succession of violent emotions. All his pictures of human life seem to shew, that deformity and meanness were the favourite objects of his attention; and that his soul was a constant prey to indignation, disgust, and other glaring passions arising from such a view of things. And it is the tendency of almost all his writings (though it was not always the Author's design) to communicate the same passions to his Reader; insomuch that, notwithstanding his erudition, and knowledge of the world, his abilities as a popular orator and man of business, the energy of his style, the elegance of some of his verses, and his extraordinary talents in wit and humour, there is reason to doubt whether by studying his works any person was ever much improved in piety or benevolence.” *Beattie*, p. 387.

“which

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“ which each of these great men were subject, we may observe, in several instances, a strong resemblance between them. Both poets are equally distinguished for wit and humour. Each displays a peculiar felicity in diction; but, of the two, *Horace* is the more elegant and delicate; while he condemns, he pleases. *Swift* takes pleasure in giving pain: the dissimilitude of their tempers might be owing to the different turns of their fortune. *Swift* early formed large views of ambition and was disappointed. *Horace*, from an exiled low state, rose into affluence, and enjoyed the favour and friendship of *Augustus*. Each poet was the delight of the principal persons of his age. *Cum magnis vixisse* was not more applicable to *Horace*, than to *Swift*. They both were temperate: both were frugal; and both were of the same Epicurean taste. *Horace* had his *Lydia*; *Swift* had his *Venessa*. *Horace* had his *Mæcenæ*s and his *Agrippa*; *Swift* had his *Oxford* and his *Bolingbroke*. *Horace* had his *Virgil*; *Swift* had his *Pope*.” ORRERY.

“ Lord Orrery hath made so many and such judicious observations upon the excellency of *Swift*’s style, that little, I think, can be added to them. His own definition of a good style was this, *Proper words in proper places*. To profit by this definition, two things must be carefully examined, and attended to. The first is, carefully to consider the power and propriety of words. And the next, the strength and harmony arising from their arrangement, and connexion with one another. Both these, after long study and practice, were become such a habit in *Swift*, that it cost him little pains, or attention, to display them in his composition; and yet, after all, that which gave his style its true and best distinction, was the clearness and perspicuity arising from that conciseness in his style which gives obscurity to almost every other; and which Lord Orrery therefore most properly calls *a masterly conciseness*. I can compare it to nothing so properly, as to that character of a right line, which, as it is the plainest, simplest, and easiest to be comprehended by the eye, is, at the same time, the shortest that can be drawn between any two points.—As his style was evidently formed upon the plan of the best *Latin* writers, I cannot tell how to account for its being any way defective in his writing *Latin*, as Lord Orrery charges it to be. And I must

"frankly own, that, in my judgement, his monumental inscription to the memory of duke *Schomberg* (or rather to the reproach of his heirs) will ever remain a just exception to his lordship's censure." DELANY.

"My sincere love for this valuable, indeed incomparable man, will accompany him through life: and pursue his memory, were I to live a hundred lives, as many as his works will live; which are absolutely *original, unequalled, unexampled*. His humanity, his charity, his condescension, are equal to his wit; and require as good and as true a taste to be equally valued." POPE, Letter to the Earl of Orrery, *March 17, 1736*.

"It happened very luckily, that, a little before I had resolved on this design, a Gentleman had written predictions, and two or three pieces in my name, which had rendered it famous through all parts of *Europe*; and, by an inimitable spirit and humour, raised it to as high a pitch of reputation as it could possibly arrive at. By this good fortune the name of *Isaac Bickerstaff* gained an audience of all who had any taste of wit." STEELE, *Dedication to the First Volume of Tatlers*.

"You have with you three or four of the best *English* Authors, *Dryden, Atterbury, and Swift*; read them with the utmost care, and with a particular view to their language." CHESTERFIELD, Letter CLXXI.

"The age of *Lewis XIV.* was very like the *Augustan*; *Boileau, Moliere, La Fontaine, Racine, &c.* established the true, and exposed the false taste. The reign of king *Charles II.* (meritorious in no other respect) banished false taste out of *England*, and proscribed Puns, Quibbles, Acrosticks, &c. Since that, false wit has renewed its attacks, and endeavoured to recover its lost empire, both in *England* and *France*; but without success: though I must say, with more success in *France* than in *England*; *Addison, Pope, and Swift*, having vigorously defended the rights of good sense; which is more than can be said of their cotemporary *French* authors; who have of late had a great tendency to *le faux brillant, la refinement, et l'entortilement*. And Lord *Roscommon* would be more in the right now than he was then, in saying, that

"The *English* bullion of one sterling line,

"Drawn to *French* wire, would through whole pages shine."

Letter CLXXXV.

"Mr.

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“ Mr. *Melmoth* observes, (*Fitzosborne's* Letters, vol. II.)
 “ that *Swift's* style has this peculiarity, not to have one
 “ metaphor in his works. His images are surprizingly
 “ unexpected, and exhibited in their true, genuine, na-
 “ tive form : this strikes the greatest; and, being fetched
 “ generally from common life, they captivate the lowest
 “ of the people.”

M. *Voltaire's* encomiums may be seen in his own letters
 to the Dean, vol. XXI. p. 269; and in his Letters
 on the *English Nation*, p. 213. 215. 225. 235. See also
Home's Elements of Criticism.

E P I T A P H,

PROPOSED FOR DR. SWIFT, 1745.

Hic jacet

Democritus ille neotericus Rabelæsus noster,
 JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P. hujus cathedralis nuper decanus;
 Momi, Musarum, Minervæ, alumnus perquam dilectus;
 Insullis, Hypocritis, Theomachis, juxta exosus;
 Quos tributim summo cum lepore
 Derisit, denudavit, debellavit,
 Patriæ infelicis patronus impiger, et propugnator.
 Primores arripuit, populumque interritus,
 Uni scilicet æquus virtuti.
 Hanc favillam
 Si quis ades, nec penitus excors videtur,
 Debita sparges lacryma.

* * The Editor may perhaps be censured for having admitted a few pieces of dubious authority in the present Supplement; though he hath used such liberty cautiously, and in general hath assigned reasons for it. By way of atonement, if any should be deemed necessary, he will point out the titles of many others; which, having been erroneously ascribed to the Dean, he hath not scrupled to discard as spurious.

"Mully of Mountown. By the Author of the Tale of a Tub. 1704*."

"A new Voyage to the Island of Fools, representing the Policy, Government, and present State, of the Stultitians. By a noble Venetian. 1713."

"A Letter to the Dissenters. 1714."

"Essays, Divine, Moral, and Political; viz. 1. Of Religion in general. 2. Of Christianity. 3. Of Priests. 4. Of Virtue. 5. Of Friendship. 6. Of Government. 7. Of Parties. 8. Of Plots. † By the Author of the Tale of a Tub, sometime the Writer of the Examiner, and the original Inventor of the Band-box Plot ‡. 1714."

"An Hue and Cry after Dr. Swift, 1714."

"The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders, by Dr. Swift. 1721."

"The Blunderful Blunder of Blunders."

"The Benefit of Farting explained. 1722"

"The Lady's Answer to Don Fart-in-bando's Benefit of Farting. 1722."

"The Benefit of Farting further explained, vindicated, and maintained, against those Blunderbuffes who will not allow it to be concordant to the common Law."

"The Manifesto of Lord Peter. 1726."

"Gulliveriana: or a Fourth Volume of Miscellanies. Being a sequel of the three volumes published by Pope and Swift, 1726." [Some genuine fragments are in-

* This poem was Dr. King's; the fraudulent attempt to deceive was a piratical Publisher's.

† In the second edition, 1715, the title was thus altered, "Collected from the Works of J. S—t, D— of St. P—, and Author of the Tale of a Tub."

‡ See vol. XXV. p. 33.

terminated

termixed in the volume, with many infamous and spurious productions. The author was *Smedley*.]

"The most wonderful Wonder that ever appeared to
"the *British* Nation. Being an Account of the Travels of
"Mynheer *Veteranus* through the Woods of *Germany*.
"And an Account of his taking a most monstrous She Bear,
"who had nursed up the Wild Boy; their landing at
"The *Tower*; their reception at Court; the daily visits
"they receive from multitudes of all ranks and orders of
"both Sexes. With a Dialogue between the old She Bear
"and her Foster Son. To which is added, *Viri humani*,
"*falsi & faceti* Gulielmi Sutherlandi, *multarum artium &*
"*scientiarum Doctoris Doctissimi, Diploma*. Written by
"the Copper-farthing Dean, 1726."

"The Six-penny Miscellany. 1726."

"It cannot rain but it pours: or, the *First* Part of *London*
"strewed with Rarities. Being a full and true account
"of a fierce and wild *Indian* Deer that beat the breath out
"of Mr. U——'s body. As also how Madam *Faustina*,
"the rare Singing Woman, has been taken hoarse. To-
"gether with a lamentable story of their being blooded.
"And likewise a true relation of the arrival of the two
"marvellous black *Arabian* ambassadors, who are of the
"same country with the wonderful horse lately shewn in
"King-street. N. B. The *Second* * part of this book, by
"mistake of the printer, was published first. 1726."

"The Broken Mug, a Tale. By Dean *Swift*."

"Miscellanea. The second volume. 1. An Essay upon
"Gibing, with a project for its improvement. 2. The
"praise of women; done out of *French*. 3. An essay on
"the mischief of giving fortunes with women in marriage.
"4. *Swifteana*; or, Poems by Dean *Swift* and several of
"his friends. 5. *Læus Ululæ*, the praise of owls; translated
"from the *Latin*, by a Canary-bird." [The greater part
"of this volume appears to have been Dr. *Sheridan's*, prob-
"ably in conjunction with the Dean.]

"Art of meditating over an House of office. 1727."

"Two *Lilliputian* Odes. The first on the famous En-
"gine with which Captain *Gulliver* extinguished the
"flames in the Royal Palace. The second, inviting a

* Meaning that published by Dr. *Arbutnot*, see vol. V. p. 165.

"Bookseller

SPURIOUS PRODUCTIONS. lxxix

"Bookfeller to a Coffee-house, where the Author was.
"1727."

"Memoirs of the Court of *Lilliput*. Written by Captain
"*Gulliver*: Containing an account of the intrigues, and
"some other particular transactions of that nation, omitted
"in the two volumes of his travels. Published by *Lucas*
"*Bennet*; with a Preface, shewing how these papers fell
"into his hands. 1727."

"A Trip to the Moon. By Mr. *Murtagh M'Dermot*.
"1728."

"An historical and critical Dissertation upon the art of
"selling Bargains. 1728."

"Schemes from *Ireland*, for the benefit of the body na-
"tural, ecclesiastical, and politick. The first humbly
"offered, for making Religion and the Clergy useful.
"With the Author's observations on the cause and cure
"of the Piles; and some useful directions about wiping
"the Posteriors. The second, An infallible scheme* to
"pay the public debt of this nation in six months. Hum-
"bly offered to the consideration of the P—t. 1732."

"A serious and useful Scheme, to make an Hospital for
"Incurables; of universal benefit to all his majesty's sub-
"jects. Occasioned by a report, that the estate of *Richard*
"*Norton*, esq. was to be appointed by Parliament for such
"an endowment. To which is added, A Petition of the
"Footmen in and about *Dublin*. By a celebrated Author
"in *Ireland*. 1733."

"An Essay upon improving and adding to the Strength
"of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, by Fornication; justifying
"the same from Scripture and Reason. By a young Cler-
"gyman. 1735." This was written by Mr. *Pilkington*,
and endeavoured to be passed-off as *Swift's*.

"The Querist†; containing several Queries proposed
"to the consideration of the public. 1736."

"That part of the last Will and Testament of *Isaac*
"*Bickersstaff*, esq. which relates to the public; with his
"strange and wonderful prophecies, to be fulfilled in the
"years 1738 and 9. To which is added, an important
"Meditation on a staff, a Fragment. Published in pur-

* This pamphlet was written by Mr. *Pilkington*. See vol. XXVI.

P. 135.

† By Bishop *Berkeley*. An excellent work.

"suance

"fuance of the said Will, by *Gabriel Bickerstaff*, esq. his nephew and executor. 1738."

"A proposal humbly offered to the P——t, for the more effectual preventing the further growth of Popery. With the description and use of the Ecclesiastical Thermometer; very proper for all families. By Dr. S—t. To which is added, the humble petition of the weavers and venders of gold and silver embroiderys, &c."

"Dean *Swift's* Medley. Containing, 1. His scheme for making Religion and the Clergy useful, &c. 2. Reasons against Coition. 3. The natural history of the *Arbor Vita*. Together with several other curious and entertaining things, not mentioned in the title."

"Human Ordure botanically considered. The first essay of the kind ever published in the world *. 1748."

"An ingenious and learned discourse, being a Sermon preached to a congregation of glass bottles; found amongst some manuscript papers belonging to a certain facetious Divine lately deceased. Third edit. 1752."

"A Supplement to the Works of Dr. *Swift*, by *F. Cogan*, 1752." [For the most part genuine, but extremely incorrect.]

"An authentic copy of the last Will and Testament of the Rev. Dr. *Swift*, Dean of *St. Patrick's*, *Dublin*. To which are added, some explanatory notes, by the publisher."

"Dean *Swift's* Ghost. 1753."

"Dean *Swift's* Legacy to the wicked Authors of the present age. Published, according to the Dean's appointment, by *H. F.* esq."

"A Dialogue in the Shades below; managed by Mrs. *Philips*, Mrs. *Pilkington*, Dean *Swift*, *Galileo*, *Lais* the courtesan, and several other persons of taste and distinction."

"Modern Honour, a poem in two cantos, supposed to be written by Dean *Swift* in 1740; and addressed to Mr. P****." 4to. 1760.

* Written by Dr. *Chamberlayne*.

DR. SWIFT'S REMARKS ON

"The First Fifteen Psalms of *David*, translated into *
"Lyric Verse. Proposed as an Essay supplying the
"Perspicuity and Coherence according to the Modern
"Art of Poetry; not known to have been attempted
"before † in any Language. With a Preface, contain-
"ing some Observations of the great and general Defec-
"tiveness of ‡ the present Versions in *Greek, Latin, and*
"*English*, by Dr. [James] Gibbs ||. London, printed
"by J. Matthews, for J. Bartley, over-against Gray's
"Inn, in Holborn, 1701."

* Bagpipe. SWIFT. † Nor I hope ever will again. *Ib.*
‡ this and. *Ib.* || Sternholdides. *Ib.*

* By a memorandum on the first page it appears that these
Remarks were thought valuable by one who must be allowed to
have been of no inconsiderable rank both as a Poet and an Hu-
mourist: "The following Manuscript was literally copied from
"the printed original, found in the library of Dr. J. Swift,
"Dean of *St. Patrick's, Dublin*. The marginal Notes and Pa-
"rodies were written by the Dean's own hand, except such
"as are distinguished with this mark (ψ), with which I am only
"chargeable. Witness my hand, this 25th day of February,
"1745. WILLIAM DUNKIN.

"N. B. The Original was by me presented to his Excellency
"Philip Dormer Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant
"General and General Governor of Ireland. W. D."

DR. GIBBS.

PSALM OF DAVID [1],

*Comparing his different state of the righteous and the wicked,
both in this and the next world.*

DR. SWIFT.

[1] I warn the reader that this is a lie, both here and
all over this book; for these are not the Psalms of *David*,
but of Dr. Gibbs.

SUPPL. I. [XXV.]

2

THRICE

lxxxii DR. SWIFT'S REMARKS ON

DR. GIBBS.

THRICE happy he that does refuse
With *impious* [1] *sinners* to combine;
Who ne'er their wicked way pursues,
And does the sinner's *seat* [2] *decline*.

But still to learn and to obey
The law of God is his delight,
In that employ himself all day,
And reads and thinks thereon at [3] night.

For as a tree whose spreading root
By some prolific stream is fed,
Produces [4] fair and lively fruit,
And numerous boughs adorn its head;

Whose very [5] leaves, tho' storms descend,
In lively verdure still appear:
Such blessings always shall attend
The man that does the Lord revere.

DR. SWIFT.

[1] But, I suppose, with *pious* sinners a man may combine safely enough.

[2] What part of speech is it?

[3] A man must have some time to sleep; so that I will change this verse thus:

"And thinks and dreams thereon all night."

[4] Look ye, you must thin the boughs at the top, or your fruit will be neither fair nor timely.

[5] Why, what other part of a tree appears in a lively verdure, beside the leaves? Read,

These very leaves on which you spend
Your woeful stuff, may serve for squibs:
Such blessings always shall attend
The madrigals of Dr. Gibbs.

Though the above might serve for a tolerable specimen of *Swift's* remarks; the whole should be given if it were possible to make them intelligible without copying the version which is ridiculed, a labour for which our Readers would scarcely thank us. A few detached stanzas, however, with the Dean's Notes on them, shall be transcribed.

Why

DR. GIBBS'S PSALMS. lxxxiii

DR. GIBBS.

Why do the heathen nations rise,
And in mad tumults join !
Confederate kings vain plots [1] devise
Against th' Almighty's reign !

But those that do thy laws refuse,
In pieces thou shalt break ;
[2] And with an iron sceptre bruise
The disobedient [3] neck.

Ye earthly kings, the caution *bear* ;
Ye rulers, *learn* the same [4] :
Serve God with reverence, and with *fear* [5]
His joyful praise proclaim.

[6] For should the madness of his foes
Th' avenging God incense,
Happy are they that can repose
In him their confidence [7].

No fears shall then my soul [8] depress
Though thus my enemies increase :
[8] And therefore now arise, O [9] Lord,
And graciously thy help afford.

DR. SWIFT.

[1] I don't believe that ever kings entered into plots and confederacies against the reign of God Almighty.

[2] After a man is broken in pieces, it is no great matter to have his neck bruised.

[3] Neck.

[4] Rulers must *learn* it, but Kings may only *bear* it.

[5] Very proper, to make a joyful proclamation with fear.

[6] For should the foes of *David's* Ape

Provoke his grey-goose quills,

Happy are they that can escape

The vengeance of his pills.

[7] Admirably reasoned and connected !

[8] Depress, Loard, Scoticè.

[9] He desires God's help because he is not afraid of his enemies ; others, I think, usually desire it when they are afraid.

lxxxiv DR. SWIFT'S REMARKS ON

DR. GIBBS.

And *thus* [1] to grant a sure defence
 Belongs to God's [2] omnipotence.
 But you, my frail [3] malicious foes,
 Who do my power despise,
 Vainly how long will ye oppose,
 And [4] falsely calumnize?
 Since those alone the Lord has blest
 Who do from sin refrain,
 He therefore grants what I request [5],
 And hears when I [6] complain!
 Then shall my soul with more divine
 And solid joys abound;
 Than they with stores of corn and wine,
 Those earthly riches, crown'd [7].
 And thus confiding, Lord, in thee,
 I take my calm repose [8];
 For thou each night protectest me,
 From all my [9] treacherous foes.

DR. SWIFT.

[1] The Doctor hath a mighty affection for the particle *thus*: he uses it four times in this (the 3d) Psalm, and 100 times in other places; and always wrong.

[2] That is as much as to say, that he that can do all things can defend a man; which I take to be an undoubted truth.

[3] Are they malicious out of frailty, or frail out of malice?

[4] That is, they say *false* things *falsely*.—I will discover the Doctor's secret of making coherence and connexions in the Psalms, that he brags of in his title and preface: he lays violent hands on certain particles (such as *and*, *when*, *since*, *for*, *but*, *thus*, *so*, &c.) and presses them to his service on all occasions, fore against their wills, and without any regard whether the sense will admit them or no.

[5] It is plain the Doctor never requested to be a poet.

[6] If your requests be granted, why do you complain?

[7] I have heard of a crown or garland of corn; but a crown of wine is new, and can hardly be explained, unless we suppose the wine to be in isicles.

[8] And yet, to shew I tell no fibs,

Thou hast left me in thrall

To *Hopkins* eke, and Doctor *Gibbs*

The vilest rogue of all.

[9] *Aye*, and *open* foes too; or his repose would not be very calm.

Thy

DR. GIBBS'S PSALMS. ~~lxxxv~~

DR. GIBBS.

Thy heavy hand restrain;
[1] With mercy, Lord correct:
Do not ([2] as if in high disdain)
My helpless soul reject.

For how shall I sustain
[3] Those ills which now I bear?
My vitals are consum'd with pain,
[4] My soul oppress'd with care!

Lord, I have pray'd in [5] vain,
So long, so much oppress'd!
My very [6] cries increase my pain,
And tears prevent my rest:

These do my sight impair,
And flowing eyes decay;
While to my enemies I fear
Thus [7] to become a prey.

If I've not spar'd him, though he's grown
My causeless [8] enemy;
Then let my life and fortune [9] crown
Become to him a prey.

DR. SWIFT.

[1] Thy heavy hand restrain;
Have mercy, *Dr. Gibbs*:

Do not, I pray thee, paper stain
With rhymes retail'd in dribbs.

[2] That bit is a most glorious botch.

[3] The squeaking of a hoggrel.

[4] To listen to thy doggel.

[5] The Doctor must mean himself; for, I hope, *David*
never thought so.

[6] Then he is a dunce for crying.

[7] That is, he is afraid of becoming a prey to his enemies
while his eyes are fore.

[8] If he be grown his *causeless* enemy, he is no longer
guiltless.

[9] He gives a thing before he has it, and gives it to him
that has it already; for *Saul* is the person meant.

But,

lxxxvi DR. SWIFT'S REMARKS ON

DR. GIBBS.

But, Lord, thy kind assistance [1] lend;
 Arise in my defence:
 According to thy laws [2] contend
 For injur'd innocence.
 That all the nations that oppose
 May then confess thy power;
 Therefore assist my righteous cause,
 That they may thee adore:
 For equal judgement, Lord, to thee,
 The nations [3] all submit;
 Be therefore [4] merciful to me,
 And my just soul acquit [5]
 Thus, by God's gracious providence [6],
 I'm still preserv'd secure,
 Who all the good and just defends
 With a resistless [7] power.
 All men he does with justice view;
 And their iniquity
 With direful vengeance can pursue
 Or patiently [8] pass by.

DR. SWIFT.

- [1] But why *lend*? does he design to return it back when he has done with it?
 [2] Profane rascal! he makes it a struggle and contention between God and the wicked.
 [3] Yet, in the very verse before, he talks of nations that *oppose*.
 [4] Because all nations submit to God, therefore God must be merciful to Dr. Gibbs.
 [5] Of what?
 Poor *David* never could acquit
 A criminal like thee,
 Against his Psalms who could commit
 Such wicked poetry.
 [6] Observe the connexion.
 [7] That's right, Doctor; but there will be no contending, as you desired a while ago.
 'Tis wonderful that Providence
 Should save thee from the halter,
 Who hast in numbers without sense
 Burlesqu'd the holy Psalter.
 [8] That is no great mark of viewing them with justice. God has wiser ends for passing by his vengeance on the wicked, you prophane dunce!

Lo!

DR. GIBBS'S PSALMS. lxxxvii

DR. GIBBS.

Lo! now th' inflictions [1] they design'd

By others to be borne,

Even all the mischiefs [2] in their mind,

Do on themselves return.

O'er all the birds that mount the air,

And fish that in the floods appear [3].

Confounded at the sight of thee,

My foes are put to flight [4].

Thus thou, great God of equity,

Dost still assert my right [5].

But God eternally remains

[6] Fixt in his throne on high,

And to the world from thence ordains

[7] Impartial equity.

And thus consider still, O Lord,

The justice of my cause;

Who often hast my life [8] restor'd

From death's devouring jaws.

And from the barbarous [9] paths they tread,

No acts of Providence

Can e'er oblige them to recede,

Or stop [10] their bold offence.

DR. SWIFT.

[1] Aye, but what sort of things are these inflictions?

[2] If the mischiefs be in their mind, what need they return on themselves? are they not there already?

[3] Those, I think, are not very many: they are good fish when they are caught, but till then we have no great sway over them.

[4] The Doctor is mistaken; for, when people are confounded, they cannot fly.

[5] Against *Sternbold* and *Hopkins*.

[6] That is false and prophane: God is not fixed any where.

[7] Did any body ever hear of *partial* equity?

[8] Nothing is restored, but what has been taken away; so that he has been often raised from the dead, if this be true.

[9] The author should first have premised what sort of paths were properly barbarous. I suppose they must be very deep or dirty, or very rugged and stony; both which I myself have heard travellers call barbarous roads.

[10] Which is the way to stop an offence? would you have it stop'd like a bottle, or a thief?

And

lxxxviii DR. SWIFT'S REMARKS, &c.

DR. GIBBS.

And on their impious heads will pour
 Of snares [1] and flames a dismal shower;
 And this their bitter cup shall be
 [2] To drink to all eternity.
 [3] But they were all perverted grown,
 Polluted all with blood,
 And other impious crimes : not one
 Was either just [4] or good.
 Are they so stupid [5] then, said [6] God,
 Who thus my [7] saints devour !
 These [8] crimes have they not understood,
 Nor thought upon my power.
 [9] O, that his aid we now might have
 From *Sion's* holy hill,
 That God the captive just would save,
 And glad all *Israel* !
 All those who lead a life like this
 Shall reign in everlasting bliss [10].

DR. SWIFT.

[1] A shower of snares on a man's head would do wonderful execution. However, I grant it is a scurvy thing enough to swallow them.

[2] To taste the Doctor's poetry.

[3] But they were all perverted grown,
 In spite of Dr. Gibbs's blood;
 Of all his impious chains not one
 Was either just or good.

[4] For a man, it seems, may be good, and not just.

[5] The fault was not that they devoured saints, but that they were stupid. Q. Whether stupidity makes men devour saints, or devouring saints makes a man stupid ? I believe the latter, because they may be apt to lie heavy on one's stomach.

[6] Clod. [7] Strains. [8] Chains.

[9] And O, that every parish clerk,
 Who hums what *Brady* cribs
 From *Hopkins*, would attend this work,
 And glad the heart with *Gibbs*.

[10] And so the Doctor now may kiss ——— !

F I N I S.

Fiddling Impudent Nauseous Illiterate Scoundrel Scot !
 Foolish Idle Nonfensical Ignorant Stott !

A TRUE

A TRUE
NARRATIVE
OF WHAT PASSED AT
THE EXAMINATION
OF

The Marquis De GUISCARD,

At THE COCKPIT, MARCH 8, 1710-11;

His stabbing Mr. HARLEY;

And other precedent and subsequent Facts, relating
to the LIFE of the said GUISCARD.

First printed in 1711;

And copied in the 4th Collection of Lord SOMERS's Tracts.

To which is now annexed,
THE PREAMBLE TO THE PATENT
For creating Mr. HARLEY a PEER.

“ I have a mind to write and publish an account
“ of all the particularities of this fact: it will be very
“ curious; and I would do it when Mr. *Harley* is past
“ danger.” *Journal to Stella*, *March 12*, 1710-11.

“ Yesterday was sent me a *Narrative* printed, with
“ all the circumstances of Mr. *Harley*’s stabbing.
“ I had not time to do it myself: so I sent my hints
“ to the author of the *Atalantis*^a; and she has cooked
“ it into a sixpenny pamphlet, in her own style; only
“ the first page is left as I was beginning it. But
“ I am afraid of disobliging Mr. *Harley* or Mr. *St.*
“ *John* in one critical point about it, and so would
“ not do it myself. It is worth your reading, for
“ the circumstances ARE ALL TRUE.” *Ibid.* *April 16*.

“ There is an account of *Guiscard* by the same
“ woman, but the facts sent by *Preslo*^b.” *Ibid.* *Nov. 3*.

^a Mrs. *Manley* was also employed by Dr. *Swift*, in
“ A Learned Comment upon Dr. *Hare*’s excellent Sermon,
“ preached before the Duke of *Marlborough*, on the Sur-
“ render of *Bouchain* ;” in “ A true Relation of the se-
“ veral Facts and Circumstances of the intended Riots
“ and Tumults on *Q. Elizabeth*’s Birth-day ;” and in
“ The Duke of *Marlborough*’s Vindication, &c. *.” See
Journal to Stella, *Nov. 3*, 1711.—Besides these three Tracts
(which are all inserted in this volume), she wrote “ A
“ Letter to the Examiner, concerning Dr. *Hare*’s Tract
“ called “The Barrier-Treaty Vindicated;” An Answer to
“ Baron *Bothmar*’s Memorial ;” and, “ A modest Enquiry
“ into the Reasons of the Joy expressed by a certain Set of
“ People, upon the spreading a Report of her Majesty’s
“ Death ;” from hints suggested by Dr. *Swift*. The last-
mentioned pamphlet in particular bears striking marks of
the Dean’s assistance.

^b A name given to Dr. *Swift* by the duchess of *Shrews-*
bury. See *Journal to Stella*, *Aug. 2*, 1711.

* An account of Mrs. *Manley* will be prefixed to that tract.

A TRUE

NARRATIVE, &c.^c

THERE is nothing received with more pleasure in history, than the minute passages and circumstances of such facts as are extraordinary and surprizing. We often lament to see an important accident nakedly told, stript of those particularities which are most entertaining and instructive in such relations. This defect is frequent in all historians; not through their own fault, but for want of information: for, while facts are fresh in memory, nobody takes care to record them, as thinking it idle to inform the world in what they know already; and by this means the accounts we have of them are only traditional, the circumstances forgotten, and perhaps supplied with false ones, or formed upon probabilities, according to the genius of the Writer.

But, besides informing posterity on such occasions, there is something due to the present age. People at distance are curious and concerned to know the particulars of great events, as well as those in the

* The facts in this *Narrative* are confirmed, and the share the Dean had in it is acknowledged, in various parts of this collection: and, from his intimate connections with the treasurer and secretary, his account of this subject may be considered as founded on the best information. See his Letter to Abp. King, *March* 8, 1710-11, the very day on which Mr. *Harley* was stabbed; and the Journal to *Stella*, of the same date.

metropolis; and so are the neighbouring nations. And the relations they receive are usually either very imperfect, or misrepresented on purpose by the prejudice of party in the relators.

I shall endeavour to avoid both these errors in the fact I am going to relate; and, having made use of some good opportunities to be informed from the first hands of several passages not generally known, I hope it will be in my power to give some satisfaction to the publick.

About six years ago, there came into *England* a *French* Papist, the younger brother of a noble family in that kingdom, called *Antoine de Guiscard*, abbot de *Borly* near *The Cevennes* in *France*. And as it is the usual custom for cadets of quality there to betake themselves to the army or the church; *Guiscard* chose the latter, and had an abbey given him of a considerable revenue; but, being of a vicious and profligate nature, he fell into the most horrible crimes that a man can commit. Among other instances, it is said that he seduced a nun. It is likewise reported, that he and his younger brother, suspecting their receiver had cheated, got the poor man to their house, and put him to the torture, to force a discovery from him. Besides keeping a *ferrail* in his abbey; when he used to receive a sum together from his revenue, his custom was, to go to *Tholouse*, and lavish it in all sorts of excesses. A young lady of good family was so unhappy as to be prevailed on, to her dishonour, by his brother. Monsieur *De Guiscard* was afterwards employed to steal her from her father; but, falling in love with her himself, he carried her off from his rival into *Switzerland*. Satiety not long after succeeding, he was so inhuman as to poison the poor unfortunate lady. After his flight, he was hanged in effigy by the magistrates at the principal town in *Rouergue*, for his intended rebellion. It is agreed on all hands, that, upon account of his many enormities (but, as himself

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 5

himself terms them in his Memoirs ^d, “private domestic concerns, and the crying injustice done his “family”), he withdrew to his own lands in the province of *Rouergue*, contiguous to that part of *Languedoc* called *The Cevennes*; where he endeavoured to raise insurrections amongst the discontented people, of which he has published a very foolish account: but, having neither credit nor ability for such an undertaking, his success was answerable. He was forced to fly into *Switzerland*, without taking any measures for the safety of those poor wretches involved with him, and who had been so unhappy as to be wrought by his insinuations. Thirty of the Roman Catholic persuasion (seduced by *Guiscard* into the design of rebelling for liberty, not religion) fell under the sentence of the magistrate, and were broken upon the wheel; though it is said, if Monsieur *De Guiscard*, upon whom they depended for intelligence, had but delayed his flight only so long as to send notice to those gentlemen of the danger impending, they might all, or at least the greater number of them, have escaped as well as himself.

The Marquis *De Guiscard* had an early, an undoubted, propensity to mischief and villainy, but without those fine parts useful in the cabinet: he had not capacity to conduct a design, though he might have brain enough to form one; was wholly unacquainted with war, had never been in the army; a profligate abbot, who knew nothing of the soldier. Yet this man we find immediately made a colonel of a regiment of horse, and lieutenant general, with a

Published in 1707, under the following title: “Authentic Memoirs, being Secret Transactions in the Southern Provinces of *France*, to rescue that Nation from Slavery. Dedicated to the Queen of *Great Britain*. By the Marquis *De Guiscard*, Lieutenant General of the Forces gone upon the present Descent.” They are written in the true spirit of egotism and gasconade. The Dedication is dated, “*Hague*, May 10, 1705.”

6 NARRATIVE OF

pension, as it is said, from *Holland*, as well as from *us*. To do all this for one wholly ignorant of a camp, was foolish as well as scandalous.

Nor had adversity made any impression upon his manners. His behaviour here was expensive, luxurious, vicious; lavishing at play, and upon women, what was given him for his own support. Besides his continual good-fortune with other ladies, he kept two in constant pay, upon whom he made a profuse and regular expence: one of those creatures was married; whom that he might possess with the greater ease, he procured her husband to be pressed, and sent away into the service: a transcript of that state-cunning sometimes practised by great politicians (when they would disencumber themselves of an *incommode*) in affairs of the like emergency.

At first there was none more caressed than our foreign favourite. A late minister seldom saw a levee without him; though we admit *that* is not always a proof of being a favourite of those to whom they make their court. There are who crowd themselves where they have done the most sensible injuries, and against whom they have been guilty of the highest offence: but want of shame is one part of an ill man's character; as another branch is, that he can submit to the meanest things.

Monsieur *De Guiscard* had the misfortune to sink under his character, even to those great men who at first had most indulged him. His parts were too mean to balance or uphold him against a just contempt: he was found an useless villain, whose inferior understanding could not answer expectation. Proving unserviceable, he was consequently discountenanced, dropped by degrees, and afterwards totally neglected; his pension ill-paid, and himself reduced to extremity^e.

^e At this period he derived a temporary support, from a fraudulent dexterity at the billiard-table, at which game he appears to have excelled.

This

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 7

This put him upon making his peace with *France*: a common practice of such villains; whose only business being to support an infamous life in fulness of luxury, they never weigh what stands between them and the end.

The Marquis *De Guiscard* had no religion, knew nothing of principles, or indeed of humanity: brutish, bold, desperate, an engine fit for the blackest mischief; revengeful, busy to design, though full of inconsistencies, and preposterous in his management: his schemes impracticable to any less rash and inconsiderate, as may be seen at large in those his ill-formed projects of rebellion against his prince: his aspect gloomy and forbidding, no false indication of the malignancy within. Nor could the evil in his nature be diverted by benefits. The present ministry, regarding him as a man of family, one who had been caressed in *England*, though they liked neither his principles nor his practice, thought it against the glory of the queen (who is the sanctuary of distressed foreigners) to let a gentleman of such birth want the supports of life; and therefore entered upon measures to pay him four hundred pounds a year, as part of that pension which at first was granted him, and had been for some time discontinued. He could no longer with any pretence be a mal-content: but he would not forego his treacherous design, nor his desire to make his peace at home. Mr. *Harley* ^f discovered his correspondence:

^f *Robert Harley*, esq. (eldest son of Sir *Edward Harley*) born in *London*, Dec. 5, 1661, was educated at *Shilton*, a private school in *Oxfordshire*, remarkable for producing, at the same time, a lord high treasurer (the earl of *Oxford*), a lord high chancellor (lord *Harcourt*), a lord chief justice of the common pleas (lord *Trevor*), and ten members of the house of commons; who were all contemporaries, as well at school as in parliament. At the Revolution, Sir *Edward Harley* and his son *Robert* raised a troop of horse at their own expence. On the accession of king *William*, Mr. *Harley* was elected member for *Tregony*; and afterward for *Radnor*, which he represented

response: he knew he had written three letters to *France*, with advice of our affairs. This discovery was

sented till called to the upper house. He was chosen speaker, *Feb. 11, 1701-2*; again, *31 Dec.* following; and a third time, in the first parliament of queen *Anne*. He was sworn of the privy council, *April 17, 1704*; and appointed secretary of state *May 18* following, being still speaker of the house of commons. The office of secretary he resigned, *Feb. 12, 1707-8*; was made a commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, *Aug. 10, 1710*; and three days after sworn again of the privy council; in the exercise of which office, on the *8th of March* following, he was stabbed by *Guiscard*. The address of both houses of parliament will best shew the sense of the nation at that alarming attempt. Her majesty, in reward for his many services, was graciously pleased to advance him to the peerage, by the title of baron *Harley*, earl of *Oxford*, and earl *Mortimer*, *May 24, 1711*. He was appointed lord treasurer, *May 29*; chosen governor of the *South Sea* company (of which he had been the founder), *Aug. 15*; and was honoured with the Garter, *Oct. 26, 1712*. He resigned the treasurer's staff, *July 27, 1714*: was impeached by the house of commons, *June 10, 1715*; and though it is not strictly true that he was dismissed without a trial (as *Dr. Swift* has mentioned, vol. XVI. p. 47), it actually was so in effect; the commons having declined appearing to make good their charge. His lordship's situation at that period was very singular. The articles of impeachment against him were carried up *July 9, 1715*; when he was committed to *The Tower*. On the *2d of August*, additional articles were sent up; on the *3d of September*, his lordship's answer was delivered; and on the *19th*, the house of commons joined issue by replication. After several adjournments, the parliament re-assembled on the *9th of January, 1715*; and continued sitting until the *26th of June, 1716*, when an end was put to the session by prerogation. *Feb. 20, 1717*, a new session was opened. *May 22*, the earl, being still in confinement, petitioned the house of peers to take the circumstances of his case into consideration; "being assured
" it

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 9

was made a fortnight before Monsieur *De Guiscard's* seizure. Mr. *Harley* was willing to convict him under his

"it was not their lordships' intention that his confinement should be indefinite." The petition having been referred to a committee, who made their report *May 25*; it was agreed by the house, that the "impeachment was *not determined* by the prorogation." The day for trial was accordingly fixed, first for *June 13*; and, at the desire of the commons, deferred till the 24th, on which day it actually commenced. The charge was opened by Mr. *Hampden*; and Sir *Joseph Jekyll* was proceeding to make good the first article of the impeachment. But the upper house having resolved, "That the commons should not be admitted to proceed, in order to make good their articles for high crimes and misdemeanors, till judgement were first given on the articles for high treason;" the managers for the commons proceeded no farther that day. Several conferences having been held on the subject, without effect; the upper house proceeded on the trial, *July 1*; and, after proclamation for all persons concerned to take notice that the earl of *Oxford* stood on his trial, that they might come forth to make good their charge; and the commons not appearing; his lordship was brought to the bar, "acquitted of the articles, and all things therein contained;" the impeachment was dismissed; and the following day his lordship re-assumed his seat in parliament. He died, in the 64th year of his age, *May 21, 1724*, after having been twice married.—It has been the fate of this distinguished statesman to be on one side extolled to a degree of extravagance, and on the other as signally traduced. Dr. *Swift* (in the fifteenth and sixteenth volumes of this collection) has exhibited two amiable portraits of him. The author of "*A Letter to Robert Walpole, Esq. 8vo 1716*," on the contrary, represents him as "deserving of an impeachment, for his scandalous neglect in the office of lord treasurer; which he never thought fit to execute but in an hurry, or when he was drunk, seldom attending his duty above an hour in a day, which was always the *most* unseasonable he could choose; and that he dishonoured the trust her majesty

"had

his own hand ; and accordingly took all necessary precaution, to have what letters he should write brought to

“ had reposed in him, and gratified a crooked, perverse, “ and villainous temper, in obstructing justice he knew “ not how to distribute, and in oppressing those he ought “ to have relieved.” This is evidently the colouring of Party. Dr. *Swift*, who pretends not that his friend was faultless, exhibits a very different likeness. Let Candour decide the justness of the resemblance !

Again, Mr. *Pope* characterizes his lordship, as

“ A soul supreme, in each hard instance tried,

“ Above all pain, all anger, and all pride,

“ The rage of power, the blast of public breath,

“ The lust of lucre, and the dread of death.”

Whereas the duchess of *Marlborough* (who, it is well known, was assisted by the nervous pen of Mr. *Hooke* the *Roman* historian) assures us, “ He was a cunning and “ a dark man, of too small abilities to do much good, “ but of all the qualities requisite to do mischief, and “ to bring on the ruin and destruction of a nation. This “ mischievous darkness of his soul was written in his “ countenance, and plainly legible in a very odd look, “ disagreeable to every body at first sight ; which being “ joined with a constant, awkward motion or rather agitation of his head and body, betrayed a turbulent dishonesty within, even in the midst of all those familiar “ airs, jocular bowing and smiling, which he always affected, to cover what could not be covered. He had “ long accustomed himself so much to dissemble his real “ intentions, and to use the ambiguous and obscure way “ of speaking, that he could hardly ever be understood “ when he designed it, or be believed when he never so “ much desired it. His natural temper led him to so “ expensive and profuse a way of living, that he had “ brought himself into great necessities, though he had “ long enjoyed the advantages of very great and profitable posts. One principal and very expensive piece “ of his art, in which he seems to have excelled all that “ went before him, was, to have in pay a great number “ of spies of all sorts, to let him into what was passing “ in

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 11

to the secretary's office. In the mean time persons were employed, that should give an account of all his

" in all considerable families. It was remarkable, that
" when he came most into favour with the queen, he
" was perhaps the only man, in whose ruin the two con-
" tending parties would have united, as one in whom
" there was no foundation to repose any confidence:
" and that when he came to have the greatest power
" with the queen, he lost all credit every where else."

Lord *Orrery*, (as Mr. *Budgell* observes,) who thought himself ill-used by the lord treasurer's neglect of him when envoy at *Brussels*, never could be brought to vote against him: he thought him " a lukewarm friend, and too
" dilatory in business;" but was satisfied that " he was
" an *uncorrupt minister*, who wished well to his country."

After these various opinions, the reader will not be displeased with the delineation of a modern historian, who seems to have happily entered into the true medium of Mr. *Harley's* actual character: " The talents bestowed
" upon him by nature were neither extensive nor obvious;
" and these seem to have been little improved by edu-
" cation, though he has been called a patron of learning
" and of learned men. His whole progress in literature
" was confined to that slight knowledge of the dead lan-
" guages, which men intended for public life generally
" bring from school. He neither understood foreign lan-
" guages, nor wrote with any degree of elegance his
" native tongue. In the disposition of his mind, he was
" reserved, distrustful, and cold. A lover of secrecy, to
" such a degree, that he assumed its appearance in mere
" trifles; fond of importance, without any dignity of
" manner; so full of professions, that he was always
" deemed insincere. In his public measures, he was
" rather tenacious of his purpose, than either firm or
" resolute in his conduct: yet much more decisive in the
" means of annoying his enemies, than in those calculated
" to gratify his friends. With a facility of temper that
" could deny no request, but with a defect of mind that
" could bestow nothing with grace, he offended the dis-
" appointed, and even lost those whom he served. The
" disposal

his motions; such who played with him, drank with him, walked with him; in a word, those who, under the pretence of diversion and friendship, should never lose sight of him, till that day, when he went to a merchant of his acquaintance in the city, and gave

“ disposal of offices, which gives influence to other ministers, was a real misfortune to the earl of *Oxford*.
 “ He often promised the same place to five persons at once; and created four enemies, without making the fifth his friend. But, if the earl of *Oxford* was not remarkable for striking virtues, he had the good fortune to be free from glaring vices. Though undecisive in the great line of business, he was not subject to personal fear. Though thoroughly ambitious, he was a stranger to haughtiness and pride. Though persevering in his opposition to his enemies, he was not in his temper revengeful; and though he made no scruple to tempt the honesty of others with money, he himself cannot be accused with justice of the least tincture of avarice. In his public measures, he can never deserve the character of a great minister. There was a narrowness of sentiment, a vulgarity of policy, and even a meanness in his conduct, that frequently excited the contempt of his best friends. In his private intrigues for power, in his dextrous management of two parties by whom he was equally hated, in his tempering the fury of the Jacobites, in his amusing the vehemence of the Whigs, in his advancing the interests of the house of *Hanover* when most distrusted by themselves and their adherents, he shewed a considerable degree of address and political knowledge. The nation owed to a defect in *Oxford's* mind a greater benefit, than they could have derived from a minister of more splendid talents. Had he been possessed of the pride inseparable from great parts, his resentment for the ill usage, which he experienced from the Whigs and the agents of the house of *Hanover*, might have induced him to defeat the Protestant succession, and bring about those very evils of which he was unjustly accused.” See a parallel, by the same able writer, between the earls of *Oxford* and of *Rochester*, in this volume, p. 19; and see also a remark of the Dean, in p. 35.

him

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 13

him a letter, with this request, "that he would be pleased to forward it, and let it be sent away with his own foreign letters."

This letter was brought to Mr. *Harley*; where he read Monsieur *Guiscard's* advice to the ministers of France, "that they should invade *England* as soon as possible, whether they succeed or no; because the mischief it would do us would be irreparable: it would disconcert and divide us, ruin our credit, and do us a vast deal of hurt, &c."

On the eighth of *March*, the queen's inauguration-day, Monsieur *De Guiscard*, between two and three a clock in the afternoon, was seized in *The Mall*, in *St. James's Park*, by a warrant of high treason from Mr. secretary *St. John*², and carried by the queen's messengers

§ Dr. *Swift's* character of this truly extraordinary nobleman may be seen in the fifteenth and sixteenth volumes of this collection.—The exact time of his birth is uncertain; but it has been generally supposed, that he was born in 1672*. He was sent to *Eaton* when ten years old, and thence to *Christ-Church, Oxford*; where he received the title of L.L.D. Aug. 27, 1702. He married his first lady in 1700; and took his seat in the house of commons for *Wootton Bassett* the same year. Having greatly distinguished himself in that assembly, he was appointed secretary at war, April 20, 1704; and resigned Feb. 12, 1707-8. He succeeded Mr. *Boyle*, as secretary of state, Sept. 21, 1710; about which time he wrote the letter to *The Examiner* †, prefixed to that work. He was created baron *St. John* and viscount *Bolingbroke*, July 7, 1712; an honour he received reluctantly, having been disappointed of an earldom (extinct on the death of *Paulet St. John* earl *Bolingbroke*, Oct. 5, 1711) and of the Garter.

* Probably not so early.—Lord *Chesterfield* tells us, "he was secretary at war at four and twenty years old;" and Dr. *Swift*, in the *Journal to Stella*, Nov. 11, 1710, calls him "a young fellow, hardly thirty;" Jan. 14, 1710-11, he says he was but "twenty-eight years old" when he quitted the office of secretary at war; and, Nov. 3, 1711, "he is now but thirty-two."

† Earl *Coxeter* wrote "A letter to *Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq;* occasioned by the letter to *The Examiner*."

He

messengers to The Cockpit. He seemed then to have taken his resolution, and to determine that his ruin should

He was made lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of *Essex*, Oct. 24, 1713. On the accession of king *George*, the seals were taken from him, and all the papers in his office secured. Soon after the meeting of the new parliament, perceiving himself in danger, he withdrew into *France*. On his arrival at *Paris*, he received an invitation from the pretender, to enter into his service; which he declined, and endeavoured to soften his prosecution at home. Retiring to *Dauphine*, he continued there till *July* 1715, when he accepted a second offer of the seals from the pretender. Having been discarded from the chevalier's service before that year was well expired, he set to work in earnest to make his peace at home; and procured a promise of pardon, on certain conditions, from the king; who, *July* 2, 1716, created his father baron of *Battersea* and viscount *St. John*. In 1717, lord *Bolingbroke* drew up a vindication of his whole conduct with respect to the Tories, in the form of a letter to Sir *W. Wyndham*, which is written with the utmost elegance and address, and abounds with interesting and entertaining anecdotes. His majesty having granted him a full and free pardon, *May* 28, 1723; he returned to his native country in *June*, at the very juncture when Bp. *Atterbury* was banished. Obtaining an act of parliament, in *May* 1725, to restore him to his family inheritance, and to enable him to possess any purchase he should make, he pitched upon *Dawley* in *Middlesex*; where he amused himself in rural employments, and in corresponding and conversing with *Pope*, *Swift*, and other friends. He remained, however, still a mere titular lord, not being admitted to take his seat in parliament. Inflamed with this taint, he again entered upon the public stage, and embarked strongly in opposition against Sir *Robert Walpole*; which he carried on with inimitable spirit, till, in 1735, on a disagreement with his principal coadjutors, he retired to *France*, with a full resolution never more to engage in public business. On the death of his father, at the age of 90, in *April* 1742; he settled at *Battersea*, the ancient seat

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 15

should be fatal to those persons who occasioned it, by desiring leave to send for a glass of sack, some bread and

seat of the family, where he passed the remainder of his days in the highest dignity; and died, *Dec. 15, 1751*. During the latter part of his life, he was much in the confidence of *Frederick* prince of *Wales*, father to his present majesty; and is supposed to have been the adviser of the most important steps taken by the prince in his political conduct.—The very important share which the earl of *Oxford* and lord *Bolingbroke* had in the great events of the four last years of queen *Anne* will be a sufficient excuse for our endeavouring to investigate their political characters. The author of the *Letter to Mr. Walpole*, quoted above, has not been more favourable to Mr. *St. John* than to Mr. *Harley*: “He was a man of excellent parts; but the *great opinion* he had of them exposed him to the grossest flattery. He was naturally haughty and insolent; but had nothing of true grandeur in him. He had a lively imagination, a quick apprehension, a sound reflexion, and a ready elocution; which are talents that cannot fail of making a man shine in parliament. But he was far from making the *same figure* in other stations; for, though he had capacity enough for business, he hated it; though he had learning, language, and address, sufficient to have made him a very accomplished secretary of state, he wanted the main thing, *application*. He was entirely *a man of pleasure*, and an immoderate debauchee.” The Letter-writer then proceeds to such virulence of abuse, that it would be an insult to the Reader to copy it.—By way of contrast, it may not be disagreeable to transcribe the opinion of lord *Chesterfield* in 1749, as it appears in a private Letter to his son: “Lord *Bolingbroke* has both a tongue and a pen to persuade; his manner of speaking in private conversation is full as elegant as his writings: whatever subject he either speaks or writes upon, he adorns it with the most splendid eloquence; not a studied or laboured eloquence, but such a flowing happiness of diction, which (from care perhaps at first) is become so habitual to him, that even his most familiar conversations,

and butter, and a *knife*. The woman of the coffee-house sent him all but the knife, which was accidentally

“versations, if taken down in writing, would bear the
 “press, without the least correction either as to method
 “or style. If his conduct, in the former part of his life,
 “had been equal to all his natural and acquired talents,
 “he would most justly have merited the epithet of *all-*
 “*accomplished*. He is himself sensible of his past errors:
 “those violent passions, which seduced him in his youth,
 “have now subsided by age; and, take him as he is now,
 “the character of *all-accomplished* is more his due, than
 “any man’s I ever knew in my life. But he has been
 “a most mortifying instance of the violence of human
 “passions, and of the weakness of the most exalted
 “human reason. His virtues and his vices, his reason
 “and his passions, did not blend themselves by a gradation
 “of tints; but formed a shining and sudden contrast.
 “Here the darkest, there the most splendid colours; and
 “both rendered more shining from their proximity. Impetuosity, excess, and almost extravagancy, characterized
 “not only his passions, but even his senses. His youth
 “was distinguished by all the tumult and storm of
 “pleasures, in which he most licentiously triumphed, disdaining all decorum. His fine imagination has often
 “been heated and exhausted with his body, in celebrating
 “and deifying the prostitute of the night; and his convivial joys were pushed to all the extravagancy of
 “frantic Bacchanals. Those passions were interrupted
 “but by a stronger, ambition. The former impaired both
 “his constitution and his character, but the latter destroyed
 “both his fortune and his reputation. He has noble and
 “generous sentiments, rather than reflected principles of
 “good-nature and friendship; but they are more violent
 “than lasting, and suddenly and often varied to their
 “opposite extremes with regard to the same persons. He
 “receives the common attentions of civility as obligations, which he returns with interest; and repents with
 “passion the little inadvertencies of human nature, which
 “he repays with interest too. Even a difference of opinion upon a philosophical subject would provoke, and
 “prove

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 17

dentally omitted. He was brought into the clerk's room, and kept there till the cabinet council was assembled;

“ prove him no practical philosopher at least. Notwithstanding the dissipation of his youth, and the tumultuous agitation of his middle age, he has an infinite fund of various and almost universal knowledge, which, from the clearest and quickest conception, and happiest memory, that ever man was blessed with, he always carries about him. It is his pocket-money; and he never has occasion to draw upon a book for any sum. He excels more particularly in History, as his historical works plainly prove. The relative, political, and commercial interests of every country in *Europe*, particularly of his own, are better known to him, than perhaps to any man in it; but how steadily he has pursued the latter in his public conduct, his enemies of all parties and denominations tell with joy. He engaged young, and distinguished himself in business; and his penetration was almost intuition. I am old enough to have heard him speak in parliament. And I remember, that, though prejudiced against him by party, I felt all the force and charms of his eloquence. Like *Belial* in *Milton*, he made the worse appear the better cause. All the internal and external advantages and talents of an orator are undoubtedly his. Figure, voice, elocution, knowledge, and, above all, the purest and most florid diction, with the justest metaphors and happiest images, had raised him to the post of secretary at war at four-and-twenty years old; an age at which others are hardly thought fit for the smallest employments. During his long exile in *France*, he applied himself to study with his characteristic ardour; and there he formed, and chiefly executed, the plan of a great philosophical work. The common bounds of human knowledge are too narrow for his warm and aspiring imagination. He must go *extra flammantia mœnia mundi*, and explore the unknown and unknowable regions of metaphysics; which open an unbounded field for the excursions of an ardent imagination; where endless conjectures supply the defect

SUPPL. I. [XXV.]

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“ of

fembled; in that room he found a *penknife*, and took it away unperceived; which, as it is supposed, he hid in his sleeve; for there was none found in his pockets, which were searched before his examination.

There

“ of unattainable knowledge, and too often usurp both its
 “ name and influence. He has had a very handsome per-
 “ son, with a most engaging address in his air and
 “ manners: he has all the dignity and good-breeding
 “ which a man of quality should or can have, and which
 “ so few, in this country at least, really have. He pro-
 “ fesses himself a Deist; believing in a general Providence,
 “ but doubting of, though by no means rejecting (as is
 “ commonly supposed), the immortality of the soul, and
 “ a future state. Upon the whole of this extraordinary
 “ man, what can we say but, Alas! poor human-nature!”
Chesterfield, Lett. cLxxv. This noble writer, in another
 place, tells us, lord *Solingsbroke* “ joined all the politeness,
 “ the manners, and the graces of a courtier, to the solidity
 “ of a statesman, and to the learning of a pedant. He
 “ was *omnis homo*.”—The writings which he bequeathed to
 Mr. *Mallet*, it is plain, he *at one time* thought improper for
 publication: the curious reader will not be displeased at
 being referred for this assertion to a letter of his lordship,
 with Dr. *Hawkefworth's* remarks on it, in the twentieth
 volume of this collection, p. 202; and to the letters
 which passed on the occasion between lord viscount *Corn-*
bury and Mr. *Mallet*, in vol. XXI. p. 256—242.

^k Sir *Simon Harcourt*. He was appointed attorney
 general, April 28, 1707; which post he resigned in October,
 1708: was counsel for Dr. *Sacheverell* in 1709; again
 attorney general, Sept. 27, 1710; lord keeper, Oct. 19;
 created baron *Harcourt*, Sept. 3, 1711; and made lord
 chancellor, April 17, 1712. In the reign of king *George I.*
 he was of the privy council, and frequently one of the
 lords justices in his majesty's absence; was created vis-
 count *Harcourt*, July 24, 1721; and died July 29, 1727.

ⁱ *Lawrence Hyde*, second son of *Edward* earl of *Clarendon*, was sent ambassador to *Holland* in 1678, and the
 same year made a commissioner of the treasury; created
 viscount *Hyde* and baron of *Wootton Bassett*, April 27, 1681;
 earl

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 19

There were present, at the committee of cabinet council, the lord keeper^h, the lord presidentⁱ,
duke

earl of *Rochester*, *Nov.* 29, 1682; made lord president of the council, *Aug.* 25, 1684; on the accession of *James II.*, a knight of the Garter; lord treasurer, *Feb.* 16, 1684-5; whence, for his adherence to the Protestant interest, he was dismissed in *Dec.* 1686; but had a pension of 500*l.* *per annum* assigned him, with other great emoluments. He was made lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, *Dec.* 12, 1700; in which post he was continued by queen *Anne* on her accession; but resigned it, *Feb.* 4, 1702-3, to *James* duke of *Ormond*, who had married his eldest daughter, lady *Anne Hyde*. He was appointed lord president of the council in *Sept.* 1710; and died *May* 2, 1711.—“The death of
“the earl of *Rochester* was said to have facilitated the sudden rise of *Harley* to the rank of a peer and the office of
“lord treasurer. Though *Rochester*, on account of his high principles in church and state, was by no means
“agreeable to *Harley*; the latter found it necessary to fortify himself against the Whigs with his lordship’s abilities and influence. Their characters, however, were
“so dissimilar, that those who knew best the secrets of the cabinet thought they already perceived a mutual coldness. *Rochester* was an avowed enemy to all dissimulation. *Harley* threw a veil of secrecy, importance, and
“reserve, even upon trifles. The first avowed his attachment to the Tory principles. The latter suppressed
“his zeal for Whiggism, as it might defeat his ambitious views. *Rochester* loved Monarchy, and the government
“of the few over the many; and avowed it to the world. *Harley* had a bias toward Republicanism; but carefully
“concealed it, even from his friends. The one was haughty and overbearing; though a man of sense, experience, and abilities. The other was sensible of his
“own talents; but he was rather conceited than proud. Though the first complied with the government, ever
“since the Revolution; he openly called that event such a breach of the constitution, as would justify, for ever,
“alterations of every kind. Though the last opposed king *William*, throughout his reign; he approved, in secret,
“of the means which placed that Prince on the throne.
“Both were vain in their knowledge of finance. Both

duke of Ormond^k, duke of Newcastle^l, duke

“jealous of their favour with the Queen. No permanent cordiality was likely to subsist between such men; and, had not death interfered, their contests would probably have given an advantage to their common enemies, which might have proved fatal to their power.” *Macpherson.*

^k *James Butler*, duke of Ormond, born April 29, 1665, was sent to *France* at ten years of age, and on his return admitted of *Christ-church, Oxford*, of which university he was afterward chancellor; succeeded his grandfather in that title, July 21, 1688; in 1689, was made a gentleman of the bed-chamber, captain of the second troop of guards, and knight of the Garter; in 1702, generalissimo of the forces against *Spain*; lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, Feb. 4, 1702-3; and again, Oct. 19, 1710; captain-general, Jan. 1, 1711-12, and had the first regiment of guards; was lord warden of the cinque ports, and constable of *Dover Castle*. (*Burnet* observes, “he had the same appointments which were voted criminal in the duke of *Marlborough*.”) On the arrival of king *George I*, at *Greenwich*, the duke of Ormond came, with uncommon splendour, to pay his court; but was told by the lord *Townshend*, “the king had no longer occasion for his service in the quality of captain-general; but that his majesty would be glad to see him at court.” Withdrawing into *France*, he was attainted Aug. 20, 1715; and died, Nov. 16, N. S. 1745, at *Madrid*, in the 81st year of his age.

^l *John Hokes*, born Jan. 9, 1661-2, who succeeded his father as earl of *Clare* in 1688, was created marquis of *Clare* and duke of *Newcastle*, May 14, 1692; honoured with the Garter in 1698; lord privy seal, March 27, 1705; he was lord lieutenant of *Nottingham*, and of the *East and West Ridings of Yorkshire*; governor of *Kingston*, &c. &c. His death, July 15, 1711, was occasioned by a fall from his horse, two days before, as he was hunting near his seat at *Welbeck*, in *Nottinghamshire*. Besides many large legacies, he left about 25,000*l.* a year to his nephew the honourable *Thomas Pelham* (afterwards duke of *Newcastle*); and about 80,000*l.* and 8000*l.* a year to his only child lady *Henrietta Helles**, who was married, Oct. 31, 1713, to *Edward* lord *Harley*, eldest son to *Robert* earl of *Oxford*.

* “Now countess of *Oxford*, cheated by her father.”
SWIFT, MS. Notes on *Masky*.

of

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 21

of *Buckingham*^m, duke of *Queensberry*ⁿ, earl *Pou-*
let,

^m *John Sheffield*, earl of *Mulgrave*, born about 1650, succeeding his father in that title in 1658, distinguished himself early as a naval commander; was installed knight of the Garter, *May* 29, 1674; made a gentleman of the bedchamber, Colonel of the old *Holland* regiment, governor of *Hull*, and commander of the forces sent against *Tangier*; lord chamberlain of the household, *Oct.* 20, 1685; created marquis of *Normanby*, *May* 10, 1694; on the accession of queen *Anne*, lord privy seal; duke of *Buckingham and Normanby*, *March* 23, 1702; lord steward of the household in *Sept.* 1710; president of the council, *June* 12, 1711; and died *Feb.* 24, 1720-21. He was a man of uncommon wit and spirit, and of no less gallantry and politeness. He cultivated an early acquaintance with *Dryden* and other men of genius; to whom he was indebted for a much greater share of reputation, than was derived from his personal merit; and his poetry, though commended by *Roscommon*, *Dryden*, *Lansdown*, *Prior*, *Garth*, and *Pope*, has incurred the censure of *Warton* and of *Walpole*. His writings were splendidly printed in 1721, in 2 vols. 4to; and again (but much castrated) in 2 vols. 8vo. 1729. His only son (by his third wife *Catharine* daughter to the countess of *Dorchester*), dying at *Rome* in 1733, just when he had entered his twentieth year, left the family estate to be inherited by natural children, of which the duke had many.

ⁿ *James Douglas*, born *Dec.* 18, 1662; a member of the privy council in *Scotland*, and lieutenant colonel of horse, in 1684. Disgusted with the court, he resigned those posts in 1688, and appeared very early in the Revolution. He was made colonel of the *Scots* guards, a lord of the privy council and exchequer in *Scotland*, by king *William*; also gentleman of the bed-chamber; in 1692 a lord of the treasury in *Scotland*; and had a patent to vote in the parliament there, in 1693, as lord high treasurer. Succeeding to the title of duke of *Queensberry* on his father's death in 1695, he quitted all military employments, and was made lord privy seal of *Scotland*, and an extraordinary lord of session; was twice lord high commissioner in 1700; and elected knight of the Garter, *June* 14, 1701. On the accession of queen *Anne*, he was made secretary of state for *Scotland*; a third time lord high commissioner, in *June*

1st^o, lord *Dartmouth*^p, Mr. *Harley*, Mr. secretary *St. John*, [Mr. *Tilson*, Mr. *Hare*, under-secretaries, sat at a table by themselves.]

Monsieur *De Guiscard* being brought in to be examined, Mr. secretary *St. John*, whose business it was to interrogate him, asked him some questions about his corresponding with *France*; and whether he had not sent letters thither? Monsieur *De Guiscard* denied it boldly: mean time his colour came and went. Earl

1702; and again, in 1703. Next year he was removed from all public employments, except that of a lord of session, which was a place for life. He was again made lord privy seal and a lord of the treasury in *Scotland* in 1707, and restored to his place in the privy council and exchequer. In *November* that year, he represented the queen as sovereign of the most noble order of *St. Andrew*; was a fifth time lord high commissioner in 1706; had the honour of perfecting the Union; and was created an *English* peer, by the titles of duke of *Dover*, marquis of *Beverley*, and baron of *Rippon*, Aug. 26, 1708; though the titles were not admitted, nor did he ever sit in the *English* parliament by virtue of them: he had before been made a privy counsellor of *Great Britain*, and obtained a pension of 2000*l.* a year. He was sworn third secretary of state, Jan. 9, 1709-10; and died July 6, 1711.

^o John lord Poulet, who succeeded his father in that barony about 1680, was created viscount of *Henton St. George* and earl Poulet, Dec. 29, 1706; appointed first lord of the treasury, Aug. 8, 1710; lord steward of the household, June 12, 1711; and elected knight of the Garter, Oct. 26, 1712. He died in 1743.—Macky calls him “one of the hopefullest gentlemen in *England*; “very learned, virtuous, and a man of honour;” and the Dean observes, “this character is fair enough.” MS. Notes.

^p William Legge, lord *Dartmouth*, born Oct. 14, 1672, was sworn of the privy council, and made one of the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, in 1702; appointed secretary of state, June 15, 1710; created earl of *Dartmouth* and viscount *Lewisham*, Sept. 5, 1711; lord privy seal, Aug. 17, 1713; and died in 1750.—“He sets up for “a critick in conversation; makes jests, and loves to laugh “at them; takes a great deal of pains in his office, and is “in a fair way of rising at court.” Macky.—“This is “right enough; but he has little sincerity.” Swift, MS. Poulet,

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 23

Poulet, before he was brought in, had desired Mr. *St. John* to change places with Mr. *Harley*, that *Guiscard's* face might be full in the light, and his countenance better perceived in any alteration that might happen at the questions that should be asked him.

The presence of that august assembly; the obligations the criminal had to some in particular, who had honoured him with their favour; and to all in general, as they were of the first rank amongst a people who had so generously refuted him in his misfortunes; his own guilt, and dread of being detected; might well cause an emotion in the mind and face of the most resolved, most hardened person. He flushed and turned pale; the posture of his feet restless and unassured; his hands in perpetual motion, fumbling in his pocket: which some of that noble assembly reflecting on, could yet well account for, by remembering it was his usual manner; a *French* air, which has been long since received in *England*, among some of our fine gentlemen, to a great degree of imitation.

Could one have looked into *Guiscard's* guilty soul, how terrible at that moment had been the prospect! His dread of conviction, his ingratitude, his treachery, his contempt or desire of death, his despair of heaven, his love of his native country, his spirit of revenge, embroiled his thoughts, fermented his blood, roused his shame, and worked-up his resolution to a pitch of doing all the service to *France*, and mischief he could to *England*. Like falling *Sampson*, to involve in his fate the strength of the enemy; yet he would make one push for life, and, till proof were produced, not give up a cause he could defend so easily as by denying the crime he was charged with; which he did with an undaunted assurance, till Mr. secretary asked him, "If he knew such a gentleman?" naming the merchant with whom he had left the letter? At that, *Guiscard* rolled his eyes, assured of his ruin, yet surprized and shocked at the approach. The same ques-

tion being repeated; he answered, "Yes, what of 'that?'" Being pressed again to discover what he knew of his corresponding with *France*, he continued obstinate in his pretended ignorance; when Mr. secretary *St. John* produced his letter, and, with a force of eloquence inseparable from what he speaks, represented to Monsieur *De Guiscard* the baseness, the blackness, of his crime; "to betray the queen, his benefactress; *Britain*, the country that had refuged, supported, trusted, honoured him by the command of her troops, with such noble confidence, that made it double villainy in him to be a villain;" exhorting him, "yet to be sincere, and give up to their information what he knew of the treacherous design he had formed."

Whilst the secretary's words were making an irresistible impression upon every mind but his to whom they were addressed; the criminal formed to himself the destruction of those two dreadful enemies of *France*, Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *St. John*. It seemed to him too hazardous to attempt the design at the full board—not in regard of his own life (*that* was already devoted)—but lest they should not be both involved. It appeared reasonable to him that, if upon the pretence of discovery he could get Mr. *St. John* to withdraw, Mr. *Harley* might possibly be of the party, and he have a chance to murder both before they could be assisted. Accordingly, when he was pressed to discover, he desired to speak with Mr. *St. John* apart. The secretary told him, "That was impracticable: he was before the whole committee as a criminal; and what he had to say must be said to all." Upon *Guiscard's* persisting to speak only to the secretary, they went to ring the bell, to call in the messengers, to carry him away; which he observing, cried out, "That is hard! not one word! *pas un mot!*" and, stooping down, said, "*J'en veux donc à toi!*" Then have at thee!" so stabbed Mr. *Harley*. Redoubling the stroke, the penknife

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penknife broke, which he was not sensible of; but, rushing on towards Mr. *St. John*, overthrew the clerks' table that stood between them. Mr. *St. John* saw Mr. *Harley* fall; and cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. *Harley*!" Then he gave him a wound, as did the duke of *Ormond* and the duke of *Newcastle*. Mr. *St. John* was resolved to have killed him, but that he saw Mr. *Harley* got up and walking about, and heard earl *Poulet* cry out, "not to kill *Guiscard*." The messengers laid hold of him, and tore his coat. He raged, he struggled, he overthrew several of them, with the strength of one desperate or frantic, till at last they got him down, by pulling him backwards by the cravat. Like a lion taken in the toils, he foamed, he grinned; his countenance seemed despoiled of the aspect of any thing human; his eyes gleamed fire, despair, and fury. He cried out to the duke of *Ormond*, whilst they were binding him, amidst his execrations and his raving, "My Lord *Ormond*, *Pour- quoy ne moy depeches vous ?* Why do not you dispatch me?" The noble duke made this memorable answer, "*Ce n'est pas l'affair des honnestes gens ; c'est*
" *l'affair*

- 1 " In one great *now*, superior to an age,
- " The full extremes of Nature's force we find;
- " How heavenly virtue can exalt, or rage
- " Infernal can degrade, the human mind.
- " While the fierce Monk does at his trial stand;
- " He chews revenge, abjuring his offence;
- " Guile in his tongue, and murder in his hand,
- " He stabs his Judge, to prove his innocence.
- " The guilty stroke, and torture of the steel
- " Infix'd, our dauntless *Briton* scarce perceives :
- " The wounds his country from his death must feel,
- " The *Patriot* views; for these alone he grieves.

Prior, Verses to Mr. Harley.

1 Mons. *Mesnager* says, Mr. *Harley* was stabbed, "by *une scelerate François*, a French miscreant, at the "council-board, where that wretch was brought to be "examined." And adds, in a strain of national vanity, "They may take notice in *England*, how good judges we
" are

“ *l'affair d'un autre*. It is not the work of gentlemen;
“ it is the work of others.”

Let us turn our eyes from so detestable an object, to another not less surprizing, though of a quite different kind; where we shall behold a gentleman, arrived by long practice to that difficult attainment of possessing his soul in all conditions, in all accidents, whether of life or death, with moderation. This is the man that may truly be said to know himself, whom even assassination cannot surprize; to whom the passions are in such obedience, they never contend for sway, nor attempt to throw him from his guard. Mr. *Harley*, falling back in his chair by the redoubled stroke that was given him, and seeing them busy about taking *Guiscard*, by whom he imagined himself killed, did not call or cry for help; but, getting up as well as he could of himself, applied his handkerchief to the wound, to stop the blood, and keep out the air; walking about the room till they had time to come to him, not complaining nor accusing, nor encouraging them to revenge him upon *Guiscard*; his countenance serene, unaltered; so that, from his own behaviour, all his friends, particularly his tenderest Mr. *St. John*, hoped he was but slightly hurt. When *Bucier* the surgeon searched the wound, they were all surprized to find it so dangerous; the penknife was struck aslant,

“ are of men in *France*; and believe they have reason to
“ be wary how they entertain any, whom the wisest prince
“ on earth, *than whom none sees further into the merits of*
“ *men*, has determined to be worthless, and not fit to be
“ employed.” See “ Minutes of the Negotiations of
“ *Monf. Mesnager* at the Court of *England*, during the
“ Four last Years of the Reign of her late Majesty Queen
“ *Anne*, containing many curious Particulars of those
“ Times;” translated from the *French* in 1717, and published a second time in 1736.—Yet, in a note to *Savage’s*
“ *Falſe Hiſtorians*, a ſatire,” (ſee his Works, vol. ii. p. 205.) this account of *Mesnager’s* negotiations is ſaid not to have been written by him; “ neither was any ſuch book ever
“ printed in the *French* tongue, from which it is impu-
“ dently ſaid in the title-page to be translated.”

and

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and buried in the wound, which Mr. *Harley* himself took out, wiped, called for the handle, and said, "They belong to me!" He asked "if the wound were mortal, as he had affairs to settle." Even in our incredulous age, we may term his escape a miracle: the blow was struck exactly upon his breast-bone, which broke the knife^s; had it been an inch lower, it had touched the *diaphragma*, and all the

* The penknife, which had a tortoiseshell handle, was given by Mr. *Harley* to Dr. *Swift*; who had the broken blade joined by a silver chain, some years after, by Mr. *Calderwood* of *Dublin*. Trifling as this little circumstance may appear (which we give on the authority of Mr. *Faulkner*), a similar assertion of Mr. *Deane Swift's* produced from Dr. *Delany* the following positive denial of the fact: "P. 163. of your Essay, you tell us of my lord *Oxford's* great love to *Swift*, in the following words—
"But what, I think, shewed more kindness and affection
"than any of the former, was the present of that penknife
"wherewith the earl had been stabbed by *Guiscard*. I have
"seen the penknife several times: it was a common ordinary penknife, with a tortoise-shell handle; and, when
"it was shut, was about the length of a man's little finger.
"But as the blade was broken within half an inch* of the
"handle, by the violence of the blow, against one of the ribs
"of the Earl, the Doctor had a hole drilled through that
"part of the blade which was broken off, and another to
"go through the piece which remained in the handle; and
"by that contrivance they were both held together by a silver
"chain. Now, Sir, it happens very unfortunately for
"you, that there is not one tittle of truth in this whole
"formal circumstantial relation. The penknife was a
"common clerk's penknife with an ivory handle: it neither opened nor shut: and both that, and the cloaths
"through which my lord treasurer was stabbed, have been
"kept in the family, from that day to this, with as much
"care as their jewels, and are both now in the possession
"of the present earl of *Oxford*, the heir male of that family and honour. And I have all this from my lord
"himself, and from the mouth of another person of high
"rank, who knows the truth of it." *Letter to Deane Swift*,
esq. (a small, but spirited, and now scarce, pamphlet) p. 20.

* See Dr. *Swift's* account of it, *Journal to Stella*, March 11.

world could not have saved his life: or a nail's-breadth deeper, it would have reached his heart. I have heard it affirmed, "that, if one should attempt a thousand times at an imitation of *Guiscard's* design, without his rage and force; not once in that thousand times would it be probable that a life could escape the blow, as *Mr. Harley's* has done." He had a double deliverance, first from the knife striking upon the breast-bone, and then from its breaking there; he must else have been murdered by the repetition of the blow. Neither was the cure less doubtful; the confusion was more dangerous than the wound itself: about a week after, the bruised blood fell down, which held his life in suspense. He had been ill for some time before, and was not as yet recovered.

As soon as *Mr. Harley* was dressed, he ordered the surgeon to take care of *Monf. De Guiscard*; and was himself carried home in a chair, followed by the lamentations and prayers of the people for his recovery, who attended him to his own door with their sighs and sorrows.

The bold marquis, though subdued, was still untamed: his fury, despair, and desire of instant death, made him use his efforts to prevent the good intentions of the surgeon and the assistants. They were forced to keep him down by strength of hand, whilst his wounds were searched and dressed; after which, he was sent to *Newgate*, where he continued in the same violence of mind. He begged to die; he strove to die, by rubbing the plasters from his wounds; to prevent which, there were persons perpetually employed to watch on each side the bed.

If we read his sentiments in his own Memoirs, we may find they were always disposed to violence. Speaking to those whom he would draw into a confederacy against the king, "That it was better to die once for all, than to die in a manner a thousand times a day, always at the mercy of men who made it their business to embitter their life, and make it insupportable,"

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"portable," p. 8.—In another place, "How can we better spend some few and uncertain days, which every moment are ended by some disease, by misfortune, or old age, than by making our name famous and immortal?" p. 14.—And thus, "Punishanimous men, who, for want of courage, dare not attempt any thing at their peril, will never see an end of their misfortune." p. 46.

These, being his avowed tenets, may give us some light into a design so execrable, that it were sin to look into it with any other eyes but detestation. *Monf. De Guiscard* was to reconcile himself to *France*; which could not probably be done, but by something more notorious than his disaffection. Upon his death-bed examination, he told the lords, "There was something horrible he had to tell them!—for which he ought to be torn in pieces!—something inconceivable!—exceeding all barbarity!"—There he stopt, as if for breath, a re-animation of spirits, or to recollect what he had to say. After a while, seeing he did not proceed, they reminded him to go on. He repeated those and many more such expressions. Being pressed to proceed, he fell into something very trifling, which he knew they knew already; said, "It was no matter—*content—content—*" meaning to die.

Upon their examination of him in *Newgate*, he seemed to boast his resolution and performance; bad them, "judge what he was able to do in a good cause, had they thought fit to employ and trust him, since he could go so far in an ill one." The vanity of his nation kept him company to the last; he valued himself upon his intrepidity, his contempt of death, and thirst of honour, &c. The last time the lords were with him, he desired *Mr. St. John's* hand, and said "*Pardonne, pardonne.*" *Mr. St. John* replied, "*Je vous pardonne—Dieu vous pardonne!*"—*Guiscard* repeating "*Content—content—*" he became delirious.

The roughness of his nature seems to have hindered him from encouraging that remorse which approaching death

death might occasion; else we should doubtlessly have had disclosed the blackest scene that any age has shewn. It is very well known the eager desire he had for some time expressed to see the queen alone; the pretence of that audience he so earnestly importuned was, "To get his pension assured." He was of late often found in the *anti-chamber*, and at the *back-stairs*. He generally carried a bottle of poison about him, supposed to answer the disappointment of some foreseen event^t. This, compared with his own words, and several letters from *France* and *Holland* at that time mentioning it was expected they should hear of a *coup d'eclat en Angleterre*, makes it almost past doubt that he did design to kill the queen; and, failing of his attempt there, stabbed Mr. *Harley*, as by his own confession he would have done Mr. *St. John*, because they were the two important lives that gave dread and anguish to that monarch who has so long and often been the terror of others.

The queen, all merciful and faint-like as she is, had herself the goodress (notwithstanding appearances were against him in the supposition of his horrible intentions to destroy her) to appoint two surgeons and two physicians to attend him in *Newgate*, with whatever was befitting a man of family. This gracious treatment could depart only from a mind so conversant with heaven, so near of kindred, as that of our pious queen. Her cares and prayers^u were the balm that healed
Mr.

^t "A poor wench, that *Guiscard* kept, sent him a bottle of sack; but the keeper would not let him touch it, for fear it was poison. I am sorry he is dying; for they had found out a way to hang him. He certainly had an intention to murder the queen." *Journal to Stella, March 15.*

^u "Mean time thy pain is gracious *Anna's* care;
"Our queen, our faint, with sacrificing breath,
"Softens thy anguish: in her powerful prayer
"She pleads thy service, and forbids thy death.

"Great

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Mr. *Harley's* wound. The honour that was done him by the address of parliament will never be forgotten; nor her majesty's gracious answer. It is remarkable, that, when it was brought into the house of lords^w, the Whigs all went out, except one, who raised a weak objection, "that Monsieur *De Guiscard* was not a "Papist-convict."

Notwithstanding the surgeons' and physicians' art and care, Monsieur *De Guiscard* died in *Newgate*. His wounds, of which he received four in the fore-part of his body, were cured; the fifth was in his back^x, which, the surgeons deposed, was not mortal. The jury gave in their verdict, "That his bruises "were the cause of his death." It appeared, upon the examination of Mr. *Wilcocks*^y, the queen's messenger, that

"Great as thou art, thou canst demand no more:

"A breast bewail'd by earth, preserv'd by heaven!

"No higher can aspiring Virtue soar:

"Enough to thee of grief and fame is given." *Prior*.

^w It was a joint address of both houses; but was first moved in the house of commons *March 9*, and immediately agreed to by the lords. *Guiscard* is called in it "a *French Papist*." He is also called so in the preamble to the act of parliament cited below.

^x This wound he never discovered to the surgeons till it had festered to a most amazing degree.—Two quarts of old clotted blood came out of his side two days before he died.

^y In the stat. 9 *Anne*, c. 16, declaring it felony without benefit of clergy for any person to attempt to kill, or to assault, strike, or wound, any privy counsellor in the execution of his office, the following indemnity is included; "That the said *Nathan Wilcocks* (who, by an inquisition, "taken the 17th day of the said month of *March*, before "*George Rivers*, esq. coroner of the said city of *London*, on "view of the body of the said *Anthony De Guiscard*, then "and there lying dead) is found to have given him the said "*Anthony De Guiscard* several mortal bruises, of which he "died; and all and every other person and persons, who "were assisting in the defence of the said *Robert Harley*, "and in the apprehending and securing the said *Anthony De*
" *Guiscard*,

that it was he that wounded the marquis in the back, and gave him those bruises of which he died. Monsieur *De Guiscard*, in struggling with *Wilcocks*, threw him against a window, which caused him to void above a quart of blood the same night.

His resolution, or rather obstinacy, continued to the last: he would not permit his wounds to be dressed, nor accept of any nourishment but what was forced upon him: he made no profession of religion, had no shew of remorse or contrition, nor desired the assistance of a priest^z. He was privately interred^a, by

"*Guiscard*, and did, in so doing, assault, bruise, or wound, the said *Anthony De Guiscard*; shall be, and are hereby, indemnified and saved harmless therefor; and such their actings and doings are hereby declared to have been necessary and lawful."

^z The Author of the "Political State" (who never failed to catch every opportunity of abusing Dr. *Swift*) severely reprehends this "Narrative," though he has condescended to extract it most copiously. The above passage, in particular, he has taken upon him to censure; asserting, that *Guiscard* desired Mr. *Bucier* to send for a priest; who told him, "he was acquainted with none; his business was only to dress him: and if he wanted a priest, he must apply himself to others."—It is amusing to observe with what dignity our Author maintained his just superiority over the swarm of scribblers that infested him. They were treated by him with that sovereign contempt which they deserved. Of the Writer of the "Political State," he says, "One *Boyer*, a French dog, has abused me in a pamphlet ["An Account of the State and Progress of the Present Negotiation of Peace, &c."]; and I have got him in a messenger's hands; the secretary promises me to swinge him. Lord treasurer told me last night that he had the honour to be abused with me in a pamphlet. I must make that rogue an example, for a warning to others." *Journal to Stella*, Oct. 16.

^a He died, in the fifty-second year of his age, March 17, 1711-12; and, after having been for several days pickled in a trough, and exhibited to the populace, was ignominiously buried, late at night, in the church-yard of *Christchurch, Newgate-street*, unlamented by all but his associates in villainy.

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order from the court—a mercy no nation but ours would have conferred upon a spy, a traitor, and an assassin^b!

Is it not obvious to all *England*, what had been our distress, in the confusion wherein so long a run of mismanagement has plunged us, if heaven had permitted the knife of a barbarous foreigner to have robbed us of a minister, whose conduct, wise, steadfast, vigorous, extricates our affairs, and embroils the enemy^c? Does not the flourishing church of *England* owe him

^b In the “Comitia Philologica Academiæ Oxoniensis, 1715,” is a prose oration, by *H. Muxloe*, A. B. under the title of “*Furor Guiscardinus*,” where the circumstances of this horrid transaction are properly enlarged on.

^c This great minister was, in the following year, in danger of losing his life by another scene of treachery; which is thus described in the *Journal to Stella*, Nov. 15, 1712. “I believe you have heard the story of my escape, in opening the band-box sent to the lord treasurer. The prints have told a thousand lies of it: but at last *we gave a true account of it*; only I would not suffer them to name me, having been so often named before, and teased to death with questions. I wonder how I came to have so much presence of mind, which is not usually my talent; but so it pleased God; and I saved myself and him.”—The account above alluded to was this: “On *Tuesday* morning, the 4th instant, the penny-postman delivered a small parcel at the lord-treasurer’s house, directed to his lordship’s porter: in which, upon opening, was found a band-box, directed to the lord-treasurer. The box was carried up to my lord’s bed-chamber, and delivered to his lordship; who, stretching up the lid as far as the packthread that tied it would give way, said, he saw a pistol; whereupon a gentleman in the room desired the box might be given to him. He took it to the window, at some distance from my lord, and opened it, by cutting with a pen-knife the packthreads that fastened the lid. The first thing that appeared was the stock and lock of a pocket-pistol, lying across the mid-

him all things for her deliverance from Presbytery and Atheism; a miracle no less seasonable, than when she was assaulted by all the force of *Rome*? Were he not a sincere worshiper at our increasing altars, would he not reduce rather than multiply them? Is not even our gracious sovereign indebted to him, for scattering those persons from about her, whose excessive tyranny strove to ruin all those who aimed to come at the queen but by them? Does he not sacrifice his quiet to the good

“dle of the band-box, and fastened at each end with two
 “nails; on each side of the firelock were laid the middle
 “pieces of two large ink-horns, charged with powder and
 “ball, and touch-holes bored at the butt-ends of them, to
 “which were fastened two linen bags of gunpowder, and
 “at the other end of the bags were two quills filled with
 “wild-fire. These two artificial barrels were placed with
 “the muzzles contrary ways; and the quill of one of
 “them directed to the pan of the pistol; as the other
 “probably was, though disordered by the carriage. The
 “gentleman who opened the box, apprehending some mis-
 “chief was intended, would not touch the pistol till he
 “had removed all the machines; then, gently widening
 “the box, the nails which fastened the stock at either end
 “gave way. He found the firelock primed and cocked,
 “and a piece of thread fastened to the trigger, which he
 “conceived he had cut in the opening. The small nails
 “which fastened the stock at either end were so contrived,
 “that, by taking it up at the first view, as it was natural
 “to do, with all the implements about it, the cock would
 “have gone down, and fired the whole train, which would
 “have immediately discharged both barrels different ways.
 “This could not have been avoided, had the pistol-stock
 “been pulled out with any force, before the nails were
 “loosened, and the thread cut which was tied to the trig-
 “ger.” Such was the account published under the direc-
 “tion of Dr. *Swift*. The Whig writers, however, and
 “particularly *Boyer*, affected to treat the whole as a mere
 “matter of invention.

“Alluding to his zealous patronage of the bill for
 “building fifty new churches.

of

of his country, without enriching his own family with her treasure, or decking himself with her honours; though she has none but what with pride and joy she is ready to bestow upon him? Was not his blood (even now devoted to the restless genius of *France*) spilt in dread of his pursuits and endeavours to reduce that monarch to humanity and reason? Is not his modesty so excessive, that he conceals from those persons who have treated him as a traitor the extent of his power, lest he should seem to insult their disgrace? Free from that false delicacy which so often makes people uneasy at what either the mistaken or our enemies say of us; his actions have their foundation on solid judgement, propt by a most extensive genius, unlimited foresight, and immoveable prudence. *France* records her *Richlieu*, *Mazarin*, and *Louvois*: we talk with veneration of the *Cecils*. But posterity shall boast of *Harley*, as a prodigy in whom the spring is pure as the stream; not troubled by ingratitude or avarice, nor its beauty deformed by the feature of any vice. The coming age will envy ours a minister of such accumulated worth; they will see and know how happy we were. Why then should we ourselves be wilfully blind, or wilfully ignorant of it? Is it not his distress, to be born among a people so divided? could he in any other country have failed of universal love and veneration? How long shall our divisions make us the sport and proverb of the neighbouring nations? Monsieur *Quillet*, by the purity of his *Latin*, has diffused our character throughout the world; and when the curious would be informed of the genius of the *British* people, the learned refer to

“ He is skilled in most things, and very eloquent.” *Macky*.—“ A great lye; he could not properly be called “ eloquent; but he knew how to prevail on the house with “ few words and strong reasons.” SWIFT, MS.

him: it is thought the most beautiful part ^f of his *Callipædia*; and, however the spirit of the author may have suffered by the change, I will present it to the reader in the *English* translator's words ^g:

“ If then from *Calais* you design to land
 “ On *England's* vile, unhospitable strand,
 “ There you shall find a race of monstrous men,
 “ Where mangled princes strew the *Cyclops'* den.
 “ A false, ungrateful, and rebellious brood,
 “ New from a slaughter'd monarch's sacred blood.
 “ They break all laws, all fancies they pursue,
 “ And follow all *religions* but the *true*.
 “ All there are priests; each differently prays,
 “ And worships Heaven ten thousand different ways.
 “ If by the mob the canting fool's admir'd,
 “ The brother's gifted, and the saint inspir'd.

^f Lib. iv. ver. 8—25. It is but common justice to observe, with Mr. *Rowe*, that this character of our nation was given in the time of the civil war; which makes the severe censure agree very well with those days of confusion and villainy.

^g We have not scrupled to substitute a translation in which the original has *suffered less by the change*; that of Mr. *Nicholas Rowe*, the editor of *Shakespeare*.—This ingenious poet, born in 1673, was bred to the law; and would have figured in that profession if he had not been seduced by the Muses. He was the author of some tragedies and one comedy, and of several poems: his translation of *Lucan* was not published till 1718; but a small specimen of it (printed by Mr. *Collins*, in his “ Discourse of “ Free-thinking,” in 1713) underwent a severe censure from Dr. *Bentley*, in “ Remarks on a late Discourse of Free- “ thinking,” p. 274, & seq. ed. 1737.—*James Duke of Queensberry*, when secretary of state, employed Mr. *Rowe* in his office. On the accession of king *George I*, he was made poet-laureat, and a land surveyor of the customs. The prince of *Wales* conferred on him the clerkship of his council; and lord chancellor *Parker* made him secretary for the presentations. But he did not long enjoy these promotions; dying Dec. 6, 1718.

“ Hence

GUISCARD'S EXAMINATION. 37

- "Hence the Fanaticks rave, and wildly storm,
 "Convert by *pistol*, and by *pike* reform.
 "Nor are th' Enthusiasts so abhorrent grown
 "To holy ceremonious rites alone:
 "An *Englishman* on all extremes will run,
 "And by consent be wilfully undone.
 "If an opinion thwart what ancients wrote,
 "He catches it, and bosoms up the thought.
 "Alcides would his club as soon resign,
 "As he a darling Heresy decline.
 "Yet we must do the sons of *England* right:
 "Some stars shine through the horror of the night.
 "For navigation, and for skill renown'd,
 "In sailing the terraqueous globe around;
 "To them no shore's untried, no sea's unknown,
 "Where waves have murmur'd, and where winds
 "have blown.
 "Typhis and Jason, who in *Argo* came,
 "Lay no pretensions to so just a fame,
 "As *Ca'ndish*, *Willoughby*, and *Drake's* immortal
 "name."

Is it not time to redeem our character, that the world, in applauding our courage, may no longer object our divisions? Though we disagree in religion; yet, for common good, we should, methinks, be glad to unite in politicks. Our ceremonies may differ, but our essentials are the same; and to people of reason, one would imagine, there needed not much persuasion, to join in those advantageous particulars, *reputation* and *interest*.

Parties break their force against one another, do the work of our foes, are weakened by perpetual animosities, hate their adversary at home much more strenuously than a foreign enemy, incapacitate themselves from doing all the injury they should to *France*, all the good they ought to *England*. Our piques and distastes for trifles have run us up to frenzy; the world beholds the hatred and aversion amongst us as lunacy

in our blood, incurable but by letting-forth; they foresee and long for a civil war, to reduce us to misery and reason; they flatter themselves that our dissensions tend that way, and prophesy they can have no end but with our ruin.

It is ourselves only can disappoint the hopes of our enemies, and extricate ourselves. The very *Mahometans* claim our pity, for being misled by their grand Impostor; and shall a fellow-christian be hated? Have we no arguments but bitterness and reproach? must we continue as violent against our neighbour at home, as brave in the field abroad? If we were not all *Britons*, or had different interests, something might be said for that eager desire of ruin, so conspicuous in the contending parties.

How ridiculous it appears to a reasonable man, who reflects how greatly our happy constitution is envied by our enemies, and how little valued or enjoyed by ourselves! We boast of *liberty*, and yet do all we can to enslave others to our opinions; meanwhile the common interest of the island is lost or forgotten, in the desire of gratifying our particular revenge and aversions.

We have now a queen and ministry of consummate piety, prudence, and abilities, who know the true interest of *England*, and will pursue it. The Church is delivered from oppression and fears; Religion secured, according to every *Englishman's* heart's-desire. What should we next consider, but the interest of the body politic? Which way can that be so effectually carried on, as by calming our heats and animosities, by taking off the veil of *prejudice* and *party* which so long has blinded us; to have every individual consider what would be for the good of the whole, and sincerely to give into it? Were these measures faithfully pursued, *France* could never be formidable to *England*; nor the Protestant Religion here be under any apprehension from the restless and encroaching spirit of the *Roman*.

The

The Reasons which induced her Majesty to create the Right Honourable ROBERT HARLEY a Peer of *Great Britain*; being a Translation of the Preamble to his PATENT, dated *May 11, 1711*, and generally supposed to have been written by Dr. SWIFT ^h.

Copied from the *Harleian Miscellany*.

WHATEVER favour may be merited from a just prince by a man born of an illustrious and very ancient family,

ⁿ In a Book, intituled, "The History of the present Parliament and Convocation, &c." 8vo, 1711, p. 157, this preamble, which is there printed in *Latin*, is said to have been drawn up by Dr. Robert Freind. Probably, therefore, the translation only is the production of Dr. Swift; or, perhaps, it might be originally written in *English* by him, and from thence translated by Dr. Freind. Swift mentions the patent, in his Journal to Stella, May 4, two days before the date of it.—Dr. Robert Freind was at that time second master of *Westminster* school: and had just succeeded Mr. Duke in the rich living of *Witney* in *Oxfordshire*; which he resigned in 1734 to his son, afterwards dean of *Canterbury*. This could not be done without permission from bishop Hoadly, which he had reason to expect would be refused. On an application, however, to that Prelate, he made this remarkable answer: "If Dr. Freind can ask it, I can grant it!" See the Bishop's Letter to Lady Sundon, O.E. 3, 1734, in his Works, vol. I. p. xxxix.—Mrs. Pilkington has related an improbable story of Dr. Robert Freind, in her Memoirs, vol. II. p. 229.—He was born at *Croton* in *Northamptonshire*, where his father was rector; was sent early to *Westminster*, and elected thence to *Christ Church*; where he proceeded M. A. June 1, 1693; B. and D. D. July 7, 1709.—Dr. John Freind, his brother, was also of *Westminster* school, and was elected to *Christ Church* in 1690; and, under the auspices of dean Aldrich, undertook, with Mr. Folkes, to publish two orations, one of *Aeschines*, the other of *Demosthenes*, which were well
D 4 received;

family i, fitted by nature for all great things, and by all sorts of learning qualified for greater; constantly employed in the study of state affairs, and, with the received; and was also prevailed upon to revise an edition of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, 1696, which Dr *Bentley* severely reprehends. He was "director of the studies" to Mr. *Boyle*; wrote the Examination of Dr. *Bentley's* Dissertation on *Æsop*; and, says the great Critic, "was of the same size for" learning with the late Editor of the *Æsopian* Fables " [Mr *Anthony Alsop*]. If they can but make a tolerable " copy of verses, with two or three small faults in it, they " must presently set up to be Authors." But, whatever may be thought of those juvenile performances, in his professional capacity he was a masterly writer. He proceeded M. A. Apr. 12, 1701; B. M. June 1, 1701; and, after having published several curious medical treatises, was chosen professor of chemistry at *Oxford* in 1704; and the next year attended lord *Peterborough* on his *Spanish* expedition, of which Dr. *Freind* published an account in 1707. He was created M.D. by diploma July 12, that year; was elected a member of the Royal Society in 1712; and attended the duke of *Ormond* into *Flanders*. After his return, residing chiefly at *London*, he gave himself up wholly to the cares of his profession. He was elected a burgess for *Launceston* in 1722; and, being suspected of having a hand in *Lacy's* plot, was committed to *The Tower*, March 15, 1722-3, where he continued a prisoner till the 21st of *June* following. Soon after he obtained his liberty, he was made physician to the prince of *Wales*; and, upon that prince's accession to the crown, became physician to queen *Caroline*, who honoured him with a share of her confidence and esteem. He did not enjoy this office long; dying July 26, 1728, in his 52d year. Their majesties, in consideration of his great merit, settled a pension upon his widow. His celebrated "History of Physic," the first part of which was printed in 1725, was translated into *Latin* by Dr. *Wigan*, and published, with the *Latin* works of Dr. *Freind*, at *London*, in folio, 1733; which were reprinted at *Paris*, in 4to, 1735.

i This noble family is descended from the ancient house of the *De Harlais* in *France*. Their common ancestors were probably a family of that name resident in *Shropshire* long before the Conquest.

greatest

greatest praise and no small danger, exercising variety of offices in the government: *so much* does our well-beloved and very faithful counsellor ROBERT HARLEY deserve at our hands: he, who in three successive parliaments was unanimously chosen speaker^k; and, at the same time that he filled the chair, was our principal secretary of state; in no wise unequal to either province. Places so seemingly disagreeing were easily reconciled by one who knew how with equal weight and address to moderate and govern the minds of men^l: one who could preserve the *rights* of the *people*, without infringing the *prerogative* of the *crown*; and who thoroughly understood how well *government* could consist with *liberty*. This double task being performed; after some respite, he bore the weight of our exchequer as chancellor, and thereby prevented the further plundering^m of the na-

^k "He was active for the Revolution; but, being misunderstood at court and in the house of commons, he openly voted against the principles he had always professed, when he saw the court did not gratify him so well as he thought he deserved; and though some steps were made towards gaining him to king *William*, yet he made no advance till that parliament was called which impeached the *partition*, to which he was chosen Speaker." *Macky*.

^l "His *prudence* kept quiet and brought to temper the heats and passions of parties; and suffered not the two sides of Whig and Tory to meet together in a storm; but caused them to ebb gently, and to lose themselves insensibly in the great ocean of *moderation*. His *conduct* rescued the church from danger; protected the Dissenters in their toleration liberty; preserved the Union from the infractions of Jacobites and the Pretender; and quieted the minds of the people in matters of Religion and the *Hanover* Succession." See the *Spectator's Address*, p. 10, 11.

^m "His *wisdom* overthrew a *management*, that, under pretence of keeping up credit, concealed the circumstances of the nation till it ran *seven millions* in debt, and knew nothing of the matter." *Ibid.* p. 9.

tion;

tion ; and also provided for the settling of a new trade to *The South Seas* ; and (by rescuing public credit *) so opportunely relieved the languishing condition of the treasury, as to deserve thanks from the *parliament*, blessings from the *citizens*, and from *us* (who never separate our *own* interests from the *public*) no small approbation. Therefore we decree to the man that has so eminently deserved of *us* and of all our subjects, those honours which were so long since due to *him* and his family ; being induced thereto by our own good pleasure, and the suffrage of all GREAT BRITAIN : for we take it as an admonition, that he should not in vain be preserved, whom the states of our *realm* have testified to be obnoxious to the hatred of wicked men, upon account of his most faithful services to *us* ; and whom they have congratulated upon his escape from the rage of a *flagitious parricide* °. We gladly indulge their wishes, that he, who comes thus recommended to us by so honourable a *vote* of both houses of *parliament*, should have his seat among the *peers*, to many of whom his family has been long allied ; and that he, who is himself *learned* and a *patron* of *learning*, should happily take his title from that city where *Letters* so gloriously flourish. *Now know ye, &c.*

* “ At that time the *creditors of the government* gave 22 “ *per cent.* discount for money on the government’s “ bills.” *Ibid.*

° See the preceding “ Narrative” throughout.

S O M E
R E M A R K S
U P O N
A P A M P H L E T,
I N T I T U L E D,
A L E T T E R T O T H E S E V E N L O R D S O F
T H E C O M M I T T E E A P P O I N T E D
T O E X A M I N E G R E G G.

By the Author of THE EXAMINER.

First printed in 1711.

“ The *Examiner* has been down this month, and
 “ was very filly the five or six last papers; but there
 “ is a pamphlet come out, in answer to a Letter to the
 “ seven lords ^a who examined Gregg ^b. The answer is
 “ by the real author of the *Examiner* ^c, as I believe,
 “ for it is very well written.” Journal to Stella, Aug.
 24, 1711.

“ Then [there is] an answer to the Letter to the
 “ Lords about Gregg, by Presto.” *Ibid.* Nov. 3.

^a The committee consisted of the dukes of *Devonshire*,
Somerset, and *Bolton*; the earl of *Wharton*; lord viscount
Townshend; lord *Somers*, and lord *Halifax*. Gregg was
 tried at *The Old Bailey*, Jan. 19, 1707-8, and condemned
 for high treason; but was not executed till April 28, 1708.

^b This Letter, which was published by J. Baker,
 July 1, 1711, 8vo, began thus: “ Your lordships have,
 “ for these fifteen or sixteen months last past, been treated
 “ by the public writers, such as say, they are allowed, ap-
 “ proved, and encouraged by our great men, as *rogues* and
 “ *rascals, cheats and villains, enemies of the nation, affron-*
 “ *ters of the queen, subverters of the constitution*, and such
 “ as have been long endeavouring to destroy both *church*
 “ *and state*. Thus you have been treated in common
 “ with the present *general*, the late *lord chancellor*, the late
 “ *lord treasurer*, the late *secretaries of state*, and almost
 “ all that had any thing to do in what is called *the late*
 “ *ministry*.”

^c It should be observed, that even to this amiable lady,
 whom he so greatly and deservedly esteemed, and to whom
 on all other occasions he writes with the most unreserved
 confidence, Dr. Swift had not yet acknowledged himself
 to be the author of *The Examiner*.

SOME REMARKS, &c.

THOSE who have given themselves the trouble to write against me either in single papers or pamphlets (and they are pretty numerous) do all agree in discovering a violent rage, and at the same time affecting an air of contempt toward their adversary; which, in my humble opinion, are not very consistent: and therefore it is plain that their fury is real and hearty, their contempt only personated. I have pretty well studied this matter, and would caution writers of their standard, never to engage in that difficult attempt of *despising*; which is a work to be done in cold blood, and only by a superior genius to one at some distance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very sincere contempt for many of those who have drawn their pens against me; yet I rather chose the cheap way of discovering it by silence and neglect, than be at the pains of new terms to express it: I have known a lady value herself upon a haughty disdainful look, which very few understood, and nobody alive regarded. Those common-place terms of *infamous scribbler*, *prostitute libeler*, and the like, thrown abroad without propriety or provocation, do ill personate the true spirit of contempt, because they are such as the meanest writer, whenever he pleases, may use towards the best. I remember indeed a parish fool, who, with a great deal of deformity, carried the most disdainful look I ever observed in any countenance: and it was the most prominent part of his folly; but he was thoroughly in earnest, which these writers are not: for there is another thing I would observe,

observe, that my antagonists are most of them *so*, in a literal sense; breathe *real* vengeance, and extend their threats to my person, if they knew where to find it: wherein they are *so* far from despising, that I am sensible they do me too much honour. The Author of the *Letter to the seven Lords* takes upon him the three characters of a *despiser*, a *threatener*, and a *railer*; and succeeds so well in the two last, that it has made him miscarry in the first. It is no unwise proceeding, which the writers of that side have taken up, to scatter their menaces in every paper they publish: it may perhaps look absurd, ridiculous, and impudent, in people at mercy, to assume such a style; but the design is right, to endeavour persuading the world that it is *they* who are the injured party, that *they* are the sufferers, and have a right to be angry.

However, there is one point, wherein these gentlemen seem to stretch this wise expedient a little farther than it will allow. I, who for several months undertook to *examine* into the late management of persons and things, was content sometimes to give only a few hints of certain matters, which I had charity enough to wish might be buried for ever in oblivion, if the confidence of these people had not forced them from me. One instance whereof, among many, is the business of *Gregg*^d, the subject of a letter I am now considering. If this piece hath been written by direction, as I should be apt to suspect; yet, I am confident, they would not have us think so, because it is a sort of challenge, to let the world into the whole secret of *Gregg's* affair. But, I suppose, they are confident it is what I am not master of, wherein it is odds but *they* may be mistaken; for, I believe, the memorials of that transaction are better preserved than they seem to be aware of, as perhaps may one day appear.

^d See *The Examiner*, No xxxii. and xxxiii. in the eighth volume of this collection.

This writer is offended, because I have said so many severe things with application to particular persons. *The Medley* has been often in the same story: if they

• A periodical paper, five numbers of which were published under the title of "The Whig Examiner" by Mr. Addison and Mr. Arthur Maynwaring; and continued by the latter (under that of "The Medley") in professed opposition to "The Examiner."—Rudely as Dr. Swift was often attacked by Mr. Maynwaring, it must be owned he was the politest of his opponents.—He was born at Ightfield, in Shropshire, 1688; was educated at Shrewsbury, and in 1705 sent to Christ Church, Oxford, to study the law, which he practised on his settling in London; but, coming early to an estate of about 800*l.* a year, he exchanged the bar for more pleasurable pursuits. He was from principle a strenuous Nonjuror; but soon relinquished those opinions from conviction. In the latter end of king William's reign, he was made a commissioner of the customs, through the interest of the duke of Somerset; and afterward, by lord Godolphin, was appointed auditor of the imprest. He took an active part against Dr. Sacheverell; published some little tracts on that occasion; and was the author of several political pieces, which are specified in his "Life" and Posthumous Works,* published by Mr. Oldmixon* (who had assisted considerably in "The Medley") in 1715. He died Nov. 13, 1712. Mr. Maynwaring's "Medley" was laid down with Dr. Swift's "Examiner;" but both those publications were afterward resumed; the former (under the title of "The Medley and Flying Post") by G. Ridpath, a Scotchman; the latter by W. Oldisworth†.

* John Oldmixon, esq. (dignified in *The Tatler* by the name of Omicron the unborn Poet) author of "Reflections on Dr. Swift's" Letter to the earl of Oxford about the English Tongue, 1712; of many poems, and some plays: but his most capital performance was the "Critical History of England." He died July 9, 1742.

† Author of "A Vindication of the Bishop of Exeter," against Mr. Hoadly; of a volume called "State Tracts," and of another, called "State and Miscellany Poems, by the Author of 'The Examiner,'" 8vo. 1715. He also translated the Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare, of Horace; wrote the Life of Edmund Smith (Author of Phœdra and Hippolytus) prefixed to his works, 1719; and was author of *Timothy and Philarkus*, in 3 vols. 8vo. He died Sept. 15, 1734.

condemn

condemn it as a crime in general, I shall not much object; at least, I will allow it should be done with truth and caution: but by what argument will they undertake to prove that it is pardonable on one side, and not on the other? Since the late change of ministry, I have observed many of that party take up a new style, and tell us, "That this way of personal reflection ought not to be endured; they could not approve of it; it was against charity and good-manners." When the Whigs were in power, they took special care to keep their *adversaries* silent; then all kind of falsehood and scurrility was "doing good service to the cause, and detecting of evil principles." Now, that the face of things is changed, and we have liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down fire from heaven upon us; though, by a sort of indulgence which they were strangers to, we allow them equal liberty of the press with ourselves; and they even now make greater use of it against persons in highest power and credit, than we do against those who have been discarded for the most infamous abuse of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the *Observer*^f and

^f A weekly paper, by *George Ridpath* and *John Tutchin*. The first of these was also writer of "The Flying Post," in opposition to "The Post-boy" of *Abel Roper*; two scandalous papers, for which they equally and alternately deserved to be cudgelled, and were so:

"There *Ridpath*, *Roper*, cudgel'd might ye view,
"The very worsted still look'd black and blue."

Dunciad ii. 149.

Ridpath was committed to *Newgate*, Sept. 8, 1712, for some scandalous reflexions in "The Flying Post;" and it is remarkable that he and *Roper* both died on the same day.—*Tutchin* was concerned on the side of *Monmouth*, in the time of *Charles II*; and, for a political piece which he wrote in favour of him afterward, was sentenced by *Jefferies* to be whipped through several towns in the West,

and *Review*^t, for many years together, in charging the whole body of the clergy with the most odious crimes and opinions; in declaring all who took oaths to the government, and called themselves Tories, to be worse than Papists and Nonjurors; in exposing the Universities, as seminaries of the most pernicious principles in church and state; in defending the rebellion, and the murder of King *Charles I.*, which they asserted to be altogether as justifiable as the late Revolution? Is there a great man now in power, or in any credit with the queen, whom those worthy undertakers have not treated by name in the most ignominious manner? Even since this great change of

and handled so severely, that he petitioned *James II.* to be hanged. When that king died in exile, he wrote an invective against his memory, occasioned by some humane elegies on his death. He lived to the latter end of queen *Anne's* reign; and was the author of a poem called "Foreigners," which produced the "True-born Englishman" of *De Foe*. Neither of these writers has escaped the lash of our *English* Satirist, though his very learned Commentator doth not mention what provocation either of them had given him:

"Earless on high stood unlash'd *De Foe*,

"And *Tutchin* flagrant from the lash below."

Dunciad ii. 147.

^t *Daniel De Foe*, equally famous for politicks and poetry, was at his first setting out in life a tradesman. In that situation he was unsuccessful; and this probably was the means which induced him to apply to his pen for subsistence. He was author of a periodical work intituled "The Review." For one of his performances he was condemned to the pillory; and, when exalted above his fellows, he chearfully underwent the punishment, and wrote "A Hymn to the Pillory," as a defiance to the ministry. He published an infinite number of books and pamphlets; but is perhaps at present best known by his "History of *Robinson Crusoe*." He died at *Islington*, in easy circumstances, and at a very advanced age, *April* 26, 1731. A daughter of his was married to the ingenious Mr. *Henry Baker*, a shining ornament of the Royal Society.

affairs, with what amazing licentiousness hath the writer of *The Medley* attacked every person of the present ministry, the speaker of the house of commons, and the whole senate? He hath turned into ridicule the results of the council and the parliament; as well as the just and generous endeavours of the latter, to pay the debts, and restore the credit, of the nation, almost ruined by the corruption and management of his own party.

And are these the people who complain of personal reflections; who so confidently invoke the men in power (whom they have so highly obliged) to punish or silence me for reflecting on their exploded heroes? Is there no difference between men chosen by the prince, revered by the people for their virtue, and others rejected by both for the highest demerits? Shall *The Medley* and his brothers fly out with impunity against those who preside at the helm? and am I to be torn in pieces, because I censure others, who, for endeavouring to split the vessel against a rock, are put under the *hatches*?

I now proceed to the pamphlet which I intend to consider. It is a letter written to seven great men, who were appointed to examine *Gregg* in *Newgate*. The writer tells their lordships, that *The Examiner* hath charged them for "endeavouring, by bribery " and subornation of that criminal, to take away " Mr. *Harley's* life." If there be any thing, among the papers I have written, which may be applied to these persons, it would have become this author to have cleared them fully from the accusation, and then he might at leisure have fallen upon me as a liar and misrepresenter; but of that he has not offered a syllable: the weight of his charge lies here; that such an author as *The Examiner* should presume, by certain innuendos, to accuse any great persons of such a crime. My business, in those papers, was to represent facts; and I was as sparing as possible of reflecting upon particular persons: but the mischief is, that the readers have always found names to tally with those facts; and

and I know no remedy for this. As for instance, in the case here before us. An under-clerk in the secretary's office, of fifty pounds a year, is discovered to hold correspondence with *France*, and apprehended by his master's order, before he could have opportunity to make his escape, by the private warning of a certain person, a professed enemy to the secretary. The criminal is condemned to die. It is found, upon his trial, that he was a poor profligate fellow: the secretary, at that time, was under the mortal hatred of a violent prevailing party; who dreaded him, for his great abilities, and his avowed design to break their destructive measures.

It was very well known, that a secretary of state hath little or no intercourse with the lower clerks; but with the under-secretaries, who are the more immediate masters of those clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, gentlemen of worth: however, it would pass well enough in the world, that *Gregg* was employed in Mr. secretary *Harley's* office, and was consequently one of his clerks, which would be ground enough to build upon it what suggestions they pleased. Then, for the criminal, he was needy and vicious: he owed his death to the secretary's watchful pursuit of him, and would therefore probably incline to hearken to any offers, that would save his life, gratify his revenge, and make him easy in his fortune: so that, if a work of darkness were to be done, it must be confessed, here were proper motives, and a proper instrument. But ought we to suspect any persons of such a diabolical practice? can all faith and honour and justice be thus violated by men? questions proper for a pulpit, or well becoming a philosopher: but what if it were *regnandi causâ* (and that perhaps in a literal sense)? Is this an age of the world to think crimes improbable because they are great? Perhaps it is; but what shall we say to some of those circumstances which attended this fact? who gave rise to this report against Mr. *Harley*? will any of his enemies confess,

in cold blood, that they did either believe, suspect, or imagine, the secretary and one of the under-clerks to be joined in corresponding with *France*? Some of them, I should think, knew better what belonged to such a correspondence, and how it ought to be managed. The nature of *Gregg's* crime was such, as to be best performed without any accomplices at all: it was, to be a spy here for the *French*, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears, by his letters, that he never had it in his power to let them into any thing of importance. The copy of the queen's letter to the emperor, which he sent to the enemy, and hath made such a noise, was only to desire that prince *Eugene* might be employed to command in *Spain*; which, for six weeks before, had been mentioned in all the *Gazettes of Europe*. It was evident, from the matter of his letters, that no man of consequence could have any share in them. The whole affair had been examined in the *cabinet* two months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the person of *Gregg*, who, to supply his vices and his wants, was tempted to engage in that correspondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that examination should be resumed, after such a distance of time, with any fair or honourable intention. Why were not *Gregg's* examinations published, which were signed by his own hand, and had been taken in *cabinet* two months before the committee of the house was appointed to re-examine him? why was he pressed so close, to cry out with horror, "Good God! would you have me accuse Mr. *Harley*, when he is wholly innocent?" why were all the answers returned to the queries sent him immediately burned? I cannot in my conscience but think that the party was bound in honour to procure *Gregg* a pardon, which was openly promised him, upon condition of making an *ingenuous* confession, unless they had some other notions of what is *ingenuous* than is commonly meant by that word. A
confession

confession may be never the less *ingenuous*, for not answering the hopes or designs of those who take it: but, though the word was publickly used, the definition of it was reserved to *private interpretation*; and, by a capricious humour of fortune, a most flagitious, though repenting, villain was hanged for his virtue. It could not indeed consist with any kind of prudence then in fashion, to spare his life; and thereby leave it in his power, at any time, to detect their practices, which he might afterwards do at any time with so much honour to himself.

But I have the luck to be accused by this author in very good company: the two houses of parliament in general, and the *speaker* § of the house of commons in particular; whom he taxes with *falsehood* and *absurdity*, as well as myself, though in a more respectful manner, and by a sort of irony. The whole kingdom had given the same interpretation that I had done, to some certain passages in the address from both houses, upon the attempt of *Guiscard*; friends and enemies agreed in applying the word *faction*. But the *speaker* is much clearer; talks (as I have mentioned in another place) of some *unparalleled attempts*, and uses other terms that come pretty home to the point. As to what the parliament affirms, this author makes it first as absurd and impracticable as he can; and then pretends to yield, as *pressed by so great an authority*; and explains their meaning into nonsense, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his party. Then for the *speaker*, this writer says, “he is but a single man;”

§ *William Bromley*, esq. was elected speaker, Nov. 23, 1710; and sworn of the privy council, June 23, 1711. He was Author of a volume of Travels through *France* and *Italy*, which hath been much ridiculed on account of the minuteness with which trifling circumstances are related in it. See lord *Lyttelton's* excellent letters to his father, Letter iv. He died *February* 6, 1732.

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and, because his speech was in words too direct to avoid, he advises him, "to save his honour and virtue, by owning a solecism in speech; and to write less correctly, rather than mean maliciously." What an expedient this advocate hath found, to remove the load of an accusation! He answers, "The crime is horrible; that great men ought not to be thus insolently charged." We reply, "That the parliament and speaker appear, in many points, to be of the same opinion." He rejoins, "That *he is pressed by too great an authority*; that, perhaps, those wise assemblies and that honourable gentleman (who *besides is but a single man*) may probably speak nonsense; they must either deliver a solecism, or be malicious; and, in good-manners, he rather thinks it may be the former."

The writer of the letter, having thus dispatched *The Examiner*, falls next upon a paper called *Secret Transactions*, &c. ^h written, as he tells us, by one *Francis Hoffman* and the *Ordinary of Newgate*, persons whom I have not the honour to be known to (what ever my *betters* may be), nor have yet seen their productions: but, by what is cited from them in the let-

^h "Secret Transactions during the Hundred Days Mr. *William Gregg* lay in *Newgate* under Sentence of Death for High Treason, from the Day of his Sentence, to the Day of his Execution." It consists of a justification of Mr. *Harley*, by *Francis Hoffman*; *Paul Lorrain* the Ordinary * of *Newgate's* Letter to *Hoffman*; a paper delivered by *Gregg* to the Sheriffs at *Tyburn*; and a short narrative of proceedings between the trial and the execution: and is inserted, with another pamphlet called "More secret Transactions relating to the Case of Mr. *William Gregg*, by the Author of the former Part," in the Fourth Collection of Lord *Somers's* Tracts.

* This good old man, who held the Ordinary's place for many years, died Oct. 7, 1719. He is mentioned by *The Spectator*, N^o 338; and in the "Essay on *English Bubbles*," in this collection.

ter,

ter, it should seem, they have made some untoward observations. However, the same answer still serves: not a word to controul what they say; only they are a couple of daring, insolent wretches, to “reflect upon” the greatest and best men in *England*;” and there is an end. I have no sort of regard for that same *Hoffman*, to whose character I am a perfect stranger; but methinks the *Ordinary* of *Newgate* should be treated with more respect, considering what *company* he has kept, and what *visitors* he may have had. However, I shall not enter into a point of controversy, whether *the lords were acquainted with the Ordinary*, or the *Ordinary with the lords*, since this author leaves it undecided. Only one thing I take to be a little hard. It is now confessed on all hands, that Mr. *Harley* was most unjustly suspected of joining with an under-clerk, in corresponding with *France*: the suspicion being in itself unreasonable, and without the least probable grounds, wise men began to consider what violent enemies that gentleman had: they found the report most industriously spread; the Whigs, in common discourse, discovering their wishes that he might be found guilty: the management of the whole affair was put into the hands of such as, it is supposed, would at least not be sorry to find more than they expected. The criminal’s dying-speech is unfortunately published, wherein he thanks God, “he was not tempted to save his life by” “falsely accusing his master;” with more to the same purpose: from all this put together, it was no very unnatural conjecture, that there might have been some tampering. Now, I say, it is a little hard, that Mr. *Harley’s* friends must not be allowed to have their suspicions, as well as his enemies: and this author, if he intended to deal fairly, should have spent one paragraph in railing at those who had the impudence and villainy to suspect Mr. *Harley*, and then proceeded in due method to defend his committee of *examiners*: but that gentleman being, as this author says of the speaker,

but a single man, I suppose his reputation and life were esteemed but of little consequence.

There is one state of the case in this letter, which I cannot well omit, because the author, I suppose, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious; that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully severe upon Mr. *Harley*, without exposing the writer to any danger. I say this to gratify him, to let him know I take his meaning, and discover his inclinations. His parallel case is this: "Supposing *Guiscard* had been intimate "with some great officer of state, and had been suspected to communicate his most secret affairs with "that minister;" then he asks, "Whether it would "have been subornation, or seeking the life and blood "of that officer, in these great lords of the council, if "they had narrowly examined this affair, inquired "with all exactness what he knew of this great officer, "what secrets he had imparted to him, and whether "he were privy to his corresponding? &c." In this parallel, *Guiscard's* case is supposed to be the same with *Gregg's*: and that of the great officer with Mr. *Harley's*. So that here he lays down as a thing granted, that *Gregg* was intimate with Mr. *Harley*, and suspected to communicate his most secret affairs to him. Now did ever any rational man suspect, that Mr. *Harley*, first principal secretary of state, was intimate with an under-clerk, or upon the foot of having most secret affairs communicated to him from such a counsellor, from one in so inferior a station, whom perhaps he hardly knew by sight? why was that report raised, but for the uses which were afterwards made of it? or, why should we wonder that they who were so wicked as to be authors of it would be scrupulous in applying it to the only purpose for which it could be raised?

Having thus considered the main design of this letter, I shall make a few remarks upon some particular passages in it,

First,

First, Though it be of no consequence to this dispute, I cannot but observe a most evident falsehood, which he repeats three or four times in his letter, that "I make the world believe I am set on work by "great people." I remember myself to have several times affirmed the direct contrary, and so I do still; and, if I durst tell him my name, which he is so desirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a temper to think no man great enough to set me on work; nay, I am content to own all the scurrilous titles he gives me, if he be able to find one *innuendo*, through all those papers, that can any way favour this calumny: the malice of which is not intended against *me*, but *the present ministry*; to make the world believe, that what I have published is the utmost effort of all they can say or think against *the last*: whereas it is nothing more than the common observations of a private man, deducing consequences and effects from very natural and visible causes.

He tells us, with great propriety of speech, that the seven lords and their friends are treated as "subverters of the constitution, and such as have been long endeavouring to destroy both church and state." This puts me in mind of one, who first murdered a man, and afterwards endeavoured to kill him: and therefore I here solemnly deny them to have been *subverters of the constitution*; but that *some people* did their best endeavours, I confidently believe.

He tells *me* particularly, that I "acquit *Guiscard* "by a blunder of a design against Mr. *Harley's* life." I declare he injures me; for I look upon *Guiscard* to be full as guilty of the design, as even those were who tampered in the business of *Gregg*; and *both* (to avoid all caviling) as guilty as ever any man was that suffered death by law.

He calls the stabbing of Mr. *Harley*, a *fore blow*; but I suppose he means his *recovery*: *that*, indeed, was a *fore blow* to the *interests* of his party; but I take the business

business of *Gregg* to have been a much *forer blow* to their reputation.

This writer wonders how I "should know their "lordships' hearts, because he hardly knows his own." I do not well see the consequence of this: perhaps he never examines into his own heart; perhaps it keeps no correspondence with his tongue or his pen: I hope, at least, it is a stranger to those foul terms he has strewed throughout his letter; otherwise, I fear, I *know it too well*: for, "out of the abundance of the heart, "the mouth speaketh." But, however, actions are pretty good discoverers of the heart, though words are not; and whoever has once endeavoured to take away my life, if he has still the same or rather much greater cause, whether it be a just one or no, and has never shewn the least sign of remorse; I may venture, without being a conjurer, to know so much of his heart, as to believe he would repeat his attempt if it were in his power. I must needs quote some following lines in the same page, which are of an extraordinary kind, and seem to describe the blessed age we should live in under the return of the late administration. "It is "very well," saith he, "that peoples heads are to "stand on their shoulders as long as the laws will let "them; if it depended upon any thing besides, it may "be, your lordships' seven heads might be as soon "cut off, as that one gentleman's were you in "power." Then he concludes the paragraph with this charitable prayer, **in the** true moderation-style, and in *Italic* letter: *May the head that has done the kingdom the greatest mischief fall first, let it be whose it will!* The plain meaning of which is this: If the late ministry were in power, they would act just as the present ministry would if there were no law; which, perhaps, may be true: but I know not any ministry upon earth that I durst confide in without law; and if, at their coming-in again, they design to make their
power

power the law, they may as easily cut off *seven heads* as one. As for the head that has done the greatest mischief to the kingdom, I cannot consent it should fall, till he and I have settled the meaning of the word *mischief*. Neither do I much approve this renewing an old fashion of whipping off heads by a prayer; it began from what *some of us* think an ill precedent. Then that unlimited clause, *let it be whose it will*, perplexes me not a little: I wish, in compliance with an old form, he had excepted *my lord mayor*: otherwise, if it were to be determined by their vote, *whose head it was that had done the greatest mischief*; which way can we tell how far *their predecessors'* principles may have influenced them? God preserve the queen and her ministers from such undistinguishing disposers of heads!

His remarks upon what the *Ordinary* told *Hoffman* are singular enough. The *Ordinary's* words are, "That so many endeavours were used to corrupt *Gregg's* conscience, &c. that he felt as much uneasiness lest *Gregg* should betray his master, as if it had been his own case." The author of the letter says to this, "That, for aught the *Ordinary* knew, he might confess what was exactly true of his master; and that therefore an indifferent person might as well be uneasy for fear *Gregg* should discover something of his master, that would touch his life, and yet might have been true." But, if these were really the *Ordinary's* thoughts at that time, they were honest and reasonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a person of Mr. *Harley's* character and station should make use of such a confederate in treason: if he had suspected his loyalty, he could not have suspected his understanding. And, knowing how much Mr. *Harley* was feared and hated by the men in power, and observing that resort to *Gregg* at unreasonable hours, and that strange promises were often made him by men of note; all this put together might naturally incline the *Ordinary* to think, the design could be nothing else but
that

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that Mr. *Harley* should be accused in spite of his innocence.

This charge of *subornation* is, it seems, so extraordinary a crime, that the author *challenges all the books in the new lord's library*ⁱ (*because he hears it is the largest*) *to furnish us with an instance like it.* What if this charge should be true? Then I, in my turn, would challenge all the books in *another* lord's library^k, which is ten times larger (though perhaps not so often disturbed), to furnish us with an instance like this. If it be so monitrous a thing to accuse others of *subornation*, what epithet is left to bestow upon those who were really guilty of the crime itself? I think it beyond controversy, that *subornation* was practised in the business of *Gregg*. This manifestly appears from those few facts I have mentioned: let the Whigs agree among them where to fix it. Nay, it is plain, by the great endea-

ⁱ *Robert* earl of *Oxford* was possessed of a very valuable library; which was considerably augmented by *Edward* the second earl*. The books and pamphlets were purchased for 13,000 l. by *T. Osborne*, who published a catalogue of them in 1743, under the inspection of Dr. *Samuel Johnson*. The number of pamphlets was computed at 400,000; the most interesting of which were published in eight 4to volumes. The whole library filled thirteen handsome chambers, and two large galleries.

^k "The most valuable library of any nobleman's in England is doubtless the lord *Sunderland's* [the other lord's library above-mentioned]. The late earl of *Sunderland* spared no cost to collect it; gave any money for a valuable or scarce edition of a book; and had frequently *nine* or *ten* several editions of the *same* book." *Budgell*.—This magnificent collection is now at *Blenheim*. There is also a very splendid library at earl *Spencer's* (another branch of the same family) at *Althorp*.

* The industrious *Humphry Wanley*, who was librarian to both earls, received a handsome pension from earl *Edward* till his death, which happened July 6, 1726, æt. 55.

and

vours made to stifle his last speech, that they would have suborned the poor man even after he was dead: and is this a matter now to be called in question, much less to be denied?

He compares the examination of *Guiscard* with that of *Gregg*; and talks of several great persons who examined the former in prison, and promised him the queen's pardon if he would make a full discovery. Then the author puts the case, "How wicked it would be to charge these honourable counsellors with suborning *Guiscard*, by promises of life, &c. to accuse the innocent, and betray his friend!" Does it any where appear, that those noble persons who examined *Guiscard* put *leading questions* to him, or pointed out where they would have him *fix* an accusation? did they name *some mortal enemy* of their own, and then drop words of pardon and reward if he would accuse him? did *Guiscard* leave any paper behind him, to justify the innocence of *some great person* whom he was tempted to accuse? Yet, perhaps, I could think of certain people, who were much more likely to act in concert with *Guiscard*, than ever Mr. *Harley* was to be confederate with *Gregg*. I can imagine several who wished the penknife in Mr. *Harley's* heart, though *Guiscard* alone was desperate enough to attempt it. Who were those that, by their discourses as well as countenances, discovered their joy when the blow was struck? who were those that went out, or stood silent, when the *address* and *congratulation* were voted? and who were those that refined so far as to make Mr. *Harley* confederate with his own *assassin*?

There is one point, which this author affirms more than once or twice in a transient way, as if he would have us suppose it a thing granted; but is of such a weight, that it wants nothing but truth, to make the late change of ministry a very useless and dangerous proceeding: for so it must be allowed, if, as he affirms, "affairs are still under the like management, and must be so, because there is no better; that
" this

“ this sett of men must take the same courses in their
 “ ministration with their predecessors, or ten times
 “ worse; that the new servants go on in the old me-
 “ thods, and give the same counsel and advice, on
 “ the like occasions, with the old ones:” with more
 to the same purpose. A man may affirm, without
 being of the *cabinet*, that every syllable of this is
 absolutely false; unless he means that money is still
 raised by parliament, and borrowed upon new funds;
 that the duke of *Marlborough*¹ still commands the army;
 that we have a treasurer, keeper, president, and secre-
 taries, as we had before; and that, because the coun-
 cil meets much about the same times and places as
 formerly, therefore they *give the same advice*, and *pursue the same measures*. What does he think of finding
 funds to pay the old unprovided-for debt of the navy,
 and erecting a company for the *South-sea* trade? what
 does he think of Mr. *Hill's*^m expedition, to preserve
 our

¹ See a particular account of this noble peer, in the
 notes to the “ Comment on Dr. *Hare's* Sermon.”

^m The event of that memorable expedition was not de-
 termined when this pamphlet was written; the fleet which
 was employed in it sailed from *Plymouth*, May 5, 1711, and
 the news of its miscarriage arrived at *London*, Oct. 6. The
 Dean, speaking of this enterprize in “ The Conduct of
 “ the Allies,” says “ it was well concerted, and with fair
 “ probability of success.” Brigadier *Hill*, who commanded
 the land forces on that occasion, was brother to the cele-
 brated lady *Masham*. The duchess of *Marlborough* repre-
 sents him as a tall boy, whom she clothed, and put to
 school at *St. Alban's*; and adds, “ After he had learnt
 “ what he could there, a vacancy happening of page of
 “ honour to the prince of *Denmark*, his highness was
 “ pleased, at my request, to take him. I afterwards got
 “ my lord *Marlborough* to make him groom of the bed-
 “ chamber to the duke of *Gloucester*. And though my
 “ lord always said that *Jack Hill* was *good for nothing*,
 “ yet, to oblige me, he made him his *aid de camp*, and
 “ afterwards

our trade in *The West-Indies*? what, of the methods taken to make our allies pay their *quotas* to the war, which was a thing so scandalously either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? what, of the care to retrench the exorbitant expences of the *Spanish* war? what, of those many abuses and corruptions at home, which have been so narrowly inquired into, and in a good part redressed? Evils so deeply radicated must require some time to remedy them, and cannot be all set right in a few months. Besides, there are some circumstances, known by the names of honour, probity, good sense, great capacity for business, as likewise certain principles of religion and loyalty, the want or possession of all which will make a mighty difference even in the pursuit of the same measures. There is also one characteristick, which will ever distinguish the late ministry from the present, That the former, sacrificing all regards to the increase of their wealth

" afterwards gave him a *regiment* *. But it was his sister's
 " interest that raised him to be a *general*, and to command in that ever-memorable expedition to *Quebec*: I
 " had no share in doing him these honours.—When Mr.
 " *Harley* thought it useful to attack the duke of *Marl-*
 " *borough* in parliament, this *Quebec general*, this honest
 " *Jack Hill*, this *once-ragged boy whom I cloathed*, happening to be sick in bed, was nevertheless persuaded by
 " his *sister* to get up, wrap himself in warmer cloaths than
 " I had given him, and go to the house to vote against the
 " duke." Great allowance must doubtless be made, in this invective, for the feelings of a lady of high spirit, irritated by what she would consider as the height of ingratitude. Brigadier *Hill* was appointed lieutenant of *The Tower*, Jan. 31, 1711-12; and was sent in the *July* following with six regiments, to take possession of *Dunkirk*, as a security for the preliminaries of peace being fulfilled on the part of *France*.

* His grace had before refused Mr. *Hill* a regiment, which was intended for him by the queen. See vol. XV. p. 9.

and power, found those were no otherwise to be preserved, but by continuance of the war; whereas the interest as well as inclinations of the present dispose them to make use of the first opportunities for a safe and honourable peace.

The writer goes on upon another parallel case, which is, the modern way of reflecting upon a prince and ministry. He tells us, "That the queen was brought to discard her old officers, through the multitude of complaints, secret teazings, and importunate clamours, of a rout of people, led by their priests, and spirited underhand by crafty emissaries." Would not any one who reads this imagine, that the whole rabble, with the clergy at their head, were whispering in the queen's ear, or came in disguise to *desire a word with her majesty*, like the army of the two kings of *Brentford*? The unbiassed majority of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom are called, by this son of obscurity, *a rout of people*, and the clergy their *leaders*. We have often accused that party for their evil talent of railing perpetually against the clergy; which they discovered at first without any visible reason or provocation, as conscious of the designs they had in view, and therefore wisely began by vilifying those whom they intended to destroy. I have observed formerly, that the party-malice against the clergy hath been to blind and furious, as to charge them with crimes wholly inconsistent. I find they are still in the same disposition, and that this writer hath received *direction from his superiors* to pursue the old style upon that article. Accordingly, in the paragraph I am now upon, he represents that reverend body as *leaders, cullies, and tools*. First, he says, "That *rout of secret teazers*" (meaning the nobility and gentry of the kingdom) "*were led by the priests*." Then he assures us, "That the queen will, in a year or two, begin to consider, *who it was that cheated those poor priests*." And in case her majesty should have a mind to bring in the old

old ministry again, he comforts his party, "that the *priests are seldom wanting, to become the tools of cunning managers.*" I desire to know in what sense he would have us to understand, that *these poor priests* have been cheated. Are they cheated by a fund established for building fifty churches, or the queen's letter empowering them to proceed on the business proper for a convocation? what one single advantage could they possibly lose by this change? They are still, indeed, abused every day in print, but it is by those who are without the power to hurt them; the serpent has lost his sting, is trodden under foot, and its *bissing* is condemned. But he confidently affirms, "that, when it shall be thought fit to restore the old ministry, the *priests will not be wanting, to become the tools of their cunning managers.*" This I cannot by any means allow, unless they have some hidden reserve of cunning, which hath never yet been produced. The cunningest managers I ever knew among them are of all others most detested by the clergy: neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them *tools*, except by making them *bishops*; even those few they were able to seduce, would not be their *tools* at a lower rate.

But because this author and others of his standard affect to make use of that word *tool*, when they have a mind to be shrewd and satirical; I desire once for all to set them right. A *tool* and an *instrument*, in the metaphorical sense, differ thus: the former is an engine in the hands of *knaves*; the latter, in those of wise and honest men. The greatest ministers are *instruments* in the hands of princes; and so are princes themselves in the hands of God; and in this sense the clergy are ready to be *instruments* of any good to the prince or people. But that the clergy of *England*, since the Reformation, have at any time been the *tools* of a party, is a calumny which history and constant experience will immediately confute. Schismatic and Fanatic

preachers have indeed been perpetually employed that way with good success; by the faction against king *Charles I.*, to murder their prince, and ruin the monarchy; by king *James II.*, to bring in Popery; and ever since the Revolution, to advance the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth among a set of profligate upstarts. But in all these three instances, the established clergy (except a very few, like *tares among wheat*, and those generally *sown by the enemy*) were so far from being *tools*, that, in the first, they were persecuted, imprisoned, and deprived; and in the two others, they were great *instruments*, under God, for preserving our religion and liberty.

In the same paragraph, which contains a project for turning out the present ministry, and restoring the last; he owns, that the queen is “now served with more obsequious words, more humble adorations, and a more seeming resignation to her will and pleasure, than she was before.” And, indeed, if this be not true, her majesty has the worst luck of any prince in Christendom. The reverse of these phrases I take to be, *rude expressions, insolent behaviour, and a real opposition to her majesty’s most just and reasonable commands*, which are the mildest terms that the demeanor of some *late persons* towards their prince can deserve, in return of the highest favours that subjects ever received, whereof a hundred particulars might be produced. So that, according to our author’s way of reasoning, I will put a parallel case in my turn. I have a servant, to whom I am exceedingly kind; I reward him infinitely above his merit: besides which, he and his family snap every thing they can lay their hands on; they will let none come near me, but themselves and dependents; they misrepresent my best friends, as my greatest enemies; besides, they are so saucy and malapert, there is no speaking to them; so far from any respect, that they treat me as an inferior. At last I pluck up spirit, turn them all out of doors, and take in new ones; who are
content

content with what I allow them, though I have less to spare than formerly; give me their best advice when I ask it, are constantly in the way, do what I bid them, make a bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a respectful answer. I suppose the writer of the letter would tell me, that my present domesticks were indeed a *little more civil*, but the former were *better servants*.

There are two things wherewith this author is peculiarly angry: first, at the "licentious way of the scum of mankind treating the greatest peers in the nation:" secondly, that *these hedge-writers* (a phrase I unwillingly lend him, because it cost me some pains to invent) "seldom speak a word against any of the late ministry, but they presently fall to compliment my lord treasurer and others in great places." On the first, he brings but one instance: but I could produce a good many hundred. What does he think of *The Observer*, *The Review*, and *The Medley*? in his own impartial judgement, may not they as fairly bid for being the *scum of mankind*, as *The Examiner*? and have they not treated at least as many, and almost as great peers, in as infamous a manner? I grant, indeed, that, through the great defect of truth, genius, learning, and common-sense, among the libelers of that party, they, being of no entertainment to the world after serving the present turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in gross, that there was not a great man in *England*, distinguished for his love to the monarchy or the church, who, under the appellations of Tory, Jacobite, High-flyer, and other *cant-words*, was not represented as a public enemy, and loaden by name with all manner of obloquy. Nay, have they not even disturbed the ashes and endeavoured to blast the memories of the dead, and chiefly of those who lost their lives in the service of the monarchy and the church? His other quarrel is, at our "flattering my lord treasurer and other great persons in power."

To which I shall only say, for every line written in praise of the present ministry, I will engage to furnish the author with three pages of the most fulsome panegyrics on the least-deserving members of the last; which is somewhat more than, by the proportion of time while they were in power, could fall to their share. Indeed, I am apt to think, that the men of wit, at least, will be more sparing in their incense of this kind for the future, and say no more of any great man now at the helm than they believe he deserves. Poems, dedications, and other public encomiums, might be of use to those who were obliged to keep up an unnatural spirit in the nation, by supplying it with art; and consequently the authors deserved, and sometimes met, encouragement and reward. But those great patriots now at the head of affairs are sufficiently supported by the *uncompelled* favour of the queen, and the *natural* disposition of the people. We can do them no *service* by our applauses, and therefore expect no *payment*: so that I look upon this kind of stock to have fallen at least *ninety per cent.* since the great changes at court.

He puts a few questions, which I am in some pain to answer. "Cannot," says he, "the successors be excellent men, unless the predecessors be villains?" "cannot the queen change her ministers, but they must presently be such as neither God nor man can endure? do noblemen fall from all honour, virtue, and religion, because they are so unhappy as to fall from their prince's favour?" I desire to say something, in the first place, to this last question; which I answer in the negative. However, he will own, "that men should fall from their prince's favour, when they are so unhappy as to fall from all honour, virtue, and religion;" though I must confess my belief at the same time, that *some certain persons* have lately fallen from favour, who could not, for a very manifest

nifest reason, be said, properly speaking, to *fall from any of the other three*. To his other questions I can only say, that the constant language of the Whig pamphleteers has been, this twelvemonth past, to tell us, how dangerous a step it was to change the ministry at so nice a juncture; to shake our credit, disoblige our allies, and encourage the *French*. Then this author tells us, that those discarded politicians were "the greatest ministers we ever had:" his brethren have said the same thing a hundred times. On the other side, the queen, upon long deliberation, was resolved to part with them: the universal voice of the people was against them: her majesty is the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned: we have been constantly victorious, and are ruined; the enemy flourishes under his perpetual losses. If these be the consequences of an *able, faithful, diligent, and dutiful* administration; of that *astonishing success*, he says, *Providence hath crowned us with*; what can be those of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide field at present, I faithfully promise the author of the letter, his correspondents, his patrons, and his brethren, that this mystery of iniquity shall be very shortly laid open to the view of the world: when the most ignorant and prejudiced reader will, I hope, be convinced, by facts not to be controuled, how miserably this poor kingdom has been deluded to the very brink of destruction.

He would have it, that the people of *England* have *lost their senses*; are *bewitched* and *cheated*, *mad* and *without understanding*: but that all this will go off by degrees, and then his *great men* will recover their esteem and credit. I did, in one of my papersⁿ, overthrow this idle, affected opinion, which has been a thousand times urged by those who most wished and least believed it: I there shewed the difference between a *short madness of the people*, and their *natural bent or genius*.

ⁿ In *The Examiner*, No. xxiv; an essay which the reader will not be displeased at being referred to.

70 REMARKS ON A LETTER

I remember, when king *James II.* went from *England*, he left a paper behind him, with expressions much to the same purpose; *hoping*, among other things, that *God would open the eyes of the nation*. Too much zeal for his religion brought us then in danger of *Popery* and *arbitrary power*; too much *infidelity*, *avarice*, and *ambition*, brought us lately into *equal* danger of *atheism* and *anarchy*. The people have not yet *opened their eyes*, to see any advantage in the two former; nor, I hope, will ever *find their senses* enough to discover the blessings of the two latter. Can not I see things in another light than this author and his party do, without being *blind*? is my *understanding lost*, when it differs from theirs? am I *cheated*, *bewitched*, and *out of my senses*, because I think those to have been betrayers of our country, whom they call patriots?

He hopes his seven correspondents *will never want their places*; but is in pain for the poor kingdom, lest *their places should want them*. Now I have examined this matter, and am not at all discouraged. Two of them^o hold their places still, and are likely to continue in them; two more were governors of islands^p: I believe the author does not imagine those

to

• The duke of *Somerset* was then, and some time after, master of the horse; and the earl of *Halifax* was auditor of the receipt of the exchequer, a patent place for life. See an account of these noble lords in the places referred to in our Index.

P Of the earl of *Wharton*, who had been lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, some particulars will be given hereafter.—The other governor of an island was *Charles Powlett*, duke of *Bolton*, who went to *Holland* in the reign of *James II.* and was very instrumental in effecting the Revolution. He made a campaign in *Flanders* in 1690; was appointed lord chamberlain of the household to queen *Mary* in 1692, being then member for *Southampton*; in 1697, he was knight of the shire and vice admiral of *Hampshire*, a privy counsellor, one of the lords justices of *Ireland*, and colonel of

to be among the *places* which will *want men* to fill them. God be thanked, a man may command the *beef-eaters* ⁹ without being a soldier; I will at any time undertake to do it myself. Then it would be a little hard, if the queen should be at a loss for a *steward*^r to her family. So that, upon the whole, I see but one great employment which is in any danger of wanting a sufficient person to execute it. We must do as well as we can: yet I have been told, that the bare business

a regiment of foot. He succeeded to his father's titles in 1699; was appointed warden of *The New Forest*, and vice admiral and lord lieutenant of *Dorset* and *Southampton*, in 1702; received the degree of LL. D. at *Cambridge* in 1705; was a commissioner for the Union in 1706; and governor of *The Isle of Wight* in 1708. On the queen's demise, he was constituted one of the lords justices of *Great-Britain*; was elected a knight of the Garter, *Oct.* 16, 1714; lord chamberlain of the household, *July* 8, 1715; lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, *April* 16, 1717; and died *Jan.* 21, 1721-2.—“He does not now make any figure at court.” *Macky*.—“Nor any where else: a great booby!” *SWIFT*, MS.

⁹ *Charles* lord viscount *Townshend*, captain of the yeomen of the guard. He had been employed by queen *Anne*, as ambassador extraordinary to the States General, and as a commissioner for the Union. On the accession of king *George*, he was appointed one of the lords justices; secretary of state, *Sept.* 17, 1714; was appointed lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, *Jan.* 23, 1716-17; president of the council, *June* 11, 1720; again secretary of state, *Feb.* 8, 1720-21; elected a knight of the Garter, *July* 9, 1724. His lordship retired from public business, *May* 15, 1730; and died in *June*, 1738.—“He is beloved by every body that knows him.” *Macky*.—“I except one!” *SWIFT*, MS.

^r *William Cavendish*, duke of *Devonshire* and marquis of *Hartington*, in 1707, on his father's death; whom he also succeeded in the office of lord steward. He was elected knight of the Garter in 1710; on the accession of king *George*, was a lord of the regency, and again appointed lord steward; lord president of the council, *July* 6, 1716; which he resigned in *April* 1717, and accepted again *March* 27, 1725. He died *June* 4, 1729.

of *presiding* in council ^s does not require such very transcendent abilities; and I am mistaken if, till within these late years, we have not been some ages without that office. So that I hope things may go well enough, provided the *keeper, treasurer,* and both the *secretaries,* will do their duties; and it is happy for the nation, that none of *their seven lordships* left any of *those places* to want them.

The writer of the letter concludes it with an appeal to all the princes and states of *Europe*, friends and enemies,

* *John lord Somers.*—This distinguished lawyer was born at *Worcester* * in 1652. He was first taken notice of at the trial of the Seven Bishops, for whom he was one of the counsel; and it may here be not improperly observed, that all the counsel for the bishops were men of uncommon eminence in their profession. Mr. *Somers*, in particular, displayed an eloquence on that occasion, worthy of *Athens* or *Rome*, when they produced their most finished orators; and an honest zeal for liberty, no less worthy of those republicans, when they produced their most distinguished patriots. Soon after the accession of king *William*, he was appointed solicitor general, and received the honour of knighthood. He was made attorney-general, in *April* 1692; and lord keeper in *March* following. In 1697, he was created lord *Somers*, baron of *Evesham*, and made lord chancellor of *England*; from which post he was removed in 1700, and in 1701 was impeached by the commons, but acquitted on his trial by the lords. He then applied

* "Of a creditable family." *Macky.*—"Very mean; his father was a noted rogue. I allow him to have possessed all excellent qualifications except virtue: he had violent passions, and hardly subdued them by his great prudence." SWIFT, MS. In the *Journal to Stella*, Dec. 24, 1710, our Author styles this noble peer, "a false deceitful, rascal." *Swift* appears, indeed, from several other passages about this period, to have been severely mortified by the ingratitude of his former patrons, the lords *Somers*, *Halifax*, and *Wharton*; and was actually introduced to Mr. *Harley* as "one extremely ill used by the last ministry, after some obligations, because he refused to go certain lengths they would have him;" which was in some sort Mr. *Harley's* own case.

himself

mies, *by name*^t, to give their judgement, "whether
 " they think the late ministry were wanting in faith-
 " fulness, abilities, or diligence, to serve their prince
 " and country." Now, if he speaks by order of his
 party, I am humbly of opinion, they have incurred a
præmunire, for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction; and
 her majesty may seize their goods and chattels when-
 ever she pleases. In the mean time, I will not accept
 his appeal, which has been rejected by the queen and
 both houses of parliament. But, let a fair jury be
 empaneled in any county of *England*, and I will be de-

himself to study; and was chosen president of the Royal So-
 ciety. In 1706, he projected the Union; in 1708, was
 made president of the council, whence he was removed at
 the change in 1710. Towards the latter end of queen
Anne's reign, he grew very infirm; which probably was
 the reason why he had no other post than a seat at the
 council-table on the accession of king *George I.* He died
 of an apoplectic fit, *April 26, 1716*, after having for
 some time unfortunately survived the powers of his un-
 derstanding.—His character is very pointedly exhibited by
 the Dean*, vol. XV. p. 47; which, Mr. *Walpole* observes,
 "is very different from the picture drawn of him in the
 " dedication to the *Tale of a Tub*. Yet, distorted as the
 " features are in this [*Swift's*] new history, it is a pleasure
 " to find that party-malice attempted to discolour rather than
 " alter them." *Catalogue of Noble Authors*, vol. II. p. 107.
 This elegant writer had before observed, that lord *Somers*
 "was at once the model of *Addison*, and the touchstone of
 " *Swift*: the one wrote *from* him, the other *for* him."
 In Mr. *Walpole's* very entertaining work, may be seen a
 list of lord *Somers's* valuable publications.

"Because I will do the fairest thing in the world, I will
 " appeal to the king of *France* and all his counsellors, to
 " the *Pretender* and all his favourers and abettors, to the
 " kings of *Spain, Sweden, and Denmark*, the *Electors*,
 " princes of *Germany and Italy*, and to *The States as Wise*
 " as High and Mighty; *i. e.* I will appeal to all the ene-
 " mies and friends we have in *Europe*."

Letter to Seven Lords.

* See the additional note on the passage above referred to.

terminated

74 REMARKS ON A LETTER, &c.

terminated by their verdict. First, he names the king of *France* and all his counsellors, with the *pretender* and all his favourers and abettors. These I except against. I know they will readily judge the late ministry to be faithful, able, and diligent, in serving *their prince* and country. The councils of *some people* have, in their way, served very much to promote the service of the *pretender*, and to enable the *French* king to assist him; and is not he, in that monarch's opinion as well as his own, *their lawful prince*? I except against the *emperor* and *The States*; because it can be proved upon them, that the *plaintiffs* and they have an *understanding* together. I except against any prince who makes unreasonable demands, and threatens to re-call his troops if they be not complied with; because they have been forced of late to change their language, and may perhaps be shortly obliged to observe their articles more strictly. I should be sorry, for the appellars' sakes, to have their case referred to the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged-up for their insolence to their sovereign. But, above all, the king of *Spain* would certainly be against them, when he considers with how scandalous a neglect his interests have been managed; and that the full possession of his kingdom was made a sacrifice to those whose private or party interest swayed them to the continuance of the war. The author had reason to omit the *grand seignior* and *czar* in the list of his judges: the decrees of those princes are too sudden and sanguinary; and their lessons to instruct subjects in behaviour to their princes, by strangling them with a bow-string, or flinging them to be devoured alive by hogs, were enough to deter him from submitting to their jurisdiction.

A N E W

A NEW
JOURNEY TO PARIS;
TOGETHER WITH SOME
SECRET TRANSACTIONS
BETWEEN
THE FRENCH KING
AND
AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN:
BY THE SIEUR DU BAUDRIER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

“ I had rather be thought a good ENGLISHMAN, than the
“ best Poet, or the greatest Scholar, that ever wrote.”

PRIOR.

First printed in 1711.

"I have just thought of a project to bite the town. I have told you, that it is now known that Mr. *Prior* has been lately in *France*. I will make a printer of my own fit by me one day; and I will dictate him a formal relation of *Prior's* journey, with several particulars, all pure invention; and I doubt not but it will take." Journal to *Stella*, Aug. 31, 1711.

"This morning the printer sent me an account of *Prior's* journey; it makes a two-penny pamphlet: I suppose you will see it, for I dare say it will run. It is a formal, grave lie, from the beginning to the end. I wrote all but the last page; *that* I dictated, and the printer wrote. Mr. Secretary sent to me, to dine where he did: it was at *Prior's*. When I came in, *Prior* shewed me the pamphlet, seemed to be angry, and said, "Here is our *English* liberty!" I read some of it; said, "I liked it mightily, and envied the rogue the thought; for, had it come into my head, I should have certainly done it myself."—*Ibid.* Sept. 11.

"The printer told me, he sold yesterday a thousand of *Prior's* journey, and had printed five hundred more. It will do rarely, I believe, and is a pure bite." *Ibid.* Sept. 12.

"*Prior's* journey sells still; they have sold two thousand, although the town is empty." *Ibid.* Sept. 24.

"*Prior's* Journey, by *Presto*." *Ibid.* Nov. 3.

"There came out some time ago an account of Mr. *Prior's* journey to *France*, pretended to be a translation; it is a pure invention from the beginning to the end. I will let your Grace into the secret of it. The clamours of a party against any peace without *Spain*, and railing at the ministry, as if they designed to ruin us, occasioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furnishing fools with something to talk of; and it hath had a very great effect." Letter to Abp. King, Oct. 1.

THE TRANSLATOR

T O

THE READER.

THE Original of the following Discourse was transmitted to me three days ago from *The Hague*, to which town it was sent from *France*; but in the title-page there was no mention of the place where it was printed, only the Author's name at length, and the year of our Lord. That the Tract is genuine, I believe no person will doubt. You see all along the vanity of that nation, in a mean man giving himself the airs of a secretary, when it appears, by several circumstances, that he was received only as a menial servant. It were to be wished, the Author had been one of more importance, and further trusted in the secrets of his master's negotiation; but, to make amends, he informs us of several particulars, which one of more consequence would not have given himself the trouble about: and the particulars are such, as we at home will perhaps be curious to know; not to mention that he gives us much light into some things that are of great moment; and, by his not pretending to know more, we cannot doubt the truth of what he relates.

It

78 PREFACE TO PRIOR'S JOURNEY.

It is plain, he waited at table, carried his master's *valise*, and attended in his bed-chamber; though he takes care to tell us, that Monsieur *Prior* made many excuses and apologies, because these mean offices appear very inconsistent with the character of secretary, which he would seem to set-up for.

I shall make no reflections on this important affair, nor upon the consequences we may expect from it. To reason upon secrets of state, without knowing all the springs and motions of them, is too common a talent among us, and the foundation of a thousand errors. Here is room enough for speculations; but I advise the Reader to let them serve for his own entertainment, without troubling the world with his remarks^a.

^a “ The generality of the nation expressing their readiness, rather to bear the burthen of taxes some time longer than lose, by a precarious peace, the fruits of so many victories and conquests gained in the cause of this necessary but expensive war, it was thought fit to strike in with the humour of the people; which was done, artfully enough, in a pamphlet, intituled, *A New Journey*, &c.—When this account was first published, people differed in their conjectures and opinions about it; some looking upon it as genuine, others (the far greater number) as fictitious. In this uncertainty many continue. But such as are pretty well acquainted with the secret springs of affairs have assured me, that, though it be not an exact, faithful relation of Mr. *Prior's* negotiation, it contains, however, many true circumstances of his journey.” *Boyer's* “ *Political State*,” *Sept.* 1711.

T O

MONSIEUR MONSIEUR,

At E S T A P L E ^b.

S I R,

I Doubt not but you are curious, as many others are, to know the secret of *Monfieur Prior* an *Eng-lish* Gentleman's late Journey from *London* to *Paris*. Perhaps, living retired as you do, you may not have heard of this person, though some years ago he was very much distinguished at *Paris*, and in good esteem even with our august monarch. I must let you so far into his character, as to tell you, that *Monfieur Prior* has signalized himself, both as an eminent poet, and man of business; was very much valued by the late king *William*, who employed him in important affairs both in *England* and *Holland*. He was secretary to the *English* embassy at the treaty of *Ryfwick*, and afterwards to my lords the counts of *Portland* ^c and *Jersey*; and,

^b A sea-port town in *The Bolognois*. SWIFT.

^c *William Bentinck*, esq. a native of *Holland* (when very young) was page of honour to the prince of *Orange*; and gave such proofs of duty and affection (in 1695) when his master had the small-pox, as effectually secured the prince's future esteem. He was sent into *England*, in 1677, to negotiate a match with the princess *Mary*, eldest daughter to *James* (then duke of *York*); which was soon after concluded. Upon the duke of *Monmouth's* invasion, his highness sent over Mr. *Bentinck*, to offer king *James* the assistance both of his troops and person, to lead them against

80 MR. PRIOR'S JOURNEY

and, in the absence of the latter^d, managed for some time

against the rebels; but, through a misconstruction put upon his message, he was coldly received. In 1688, he was employed as envoy to the court of *Brandenburg*; and soon after had a great share in effecting the Revolution. He was created earl of *Portland*, viscount *Woodstock*, and baron of *Cirencester*, April 9, 1689; and appointed groom of the stole. In 1697, he was installed knight of the Garter; in *July* that year, was employed to negotiate with *M. Boufflers* the differences between the kings of *England* and *France*; in *January* following, was sent ambassador to *France*, with *Mr. Prior* for his secretary; and made his public entry into *Paris*, with extraordinary magnificence, Feb. 27.—“ King *William* threw away such grants of land on him, as obliged the parliament to interpose, and put a stop to them. He gave him the absolute and entire government of *Scotland*, made him a lieutenant-general, first lord of the bed-chamber, and privy purse. He was sent ambassador to *France* against his will, being sensible of the growing favour of lord *Albemarle* (another *Dutchman*, his enemy); and he had reason: for that lord prevailed so far in his absence, as to oblige him, by several little affronts, to lay down all his employments; and although the king still esteemed him, yet it cannot be said he was any more in favour all the king's life. On the queen's accession to the throne, he was turned out of the post of keeper of *Windsor* great park. He is supposed to be the richest subject in *Europe*; very profuse in gardening, birds, and household furniture; but mighty frugal and parsimonious in every thing else; of a very lofty mien, and yet not proud; of no deep understanding, considering his experience; neither much beloved nor hated by any sort of people, *English* or *Dutch*.” Macky.—He died Nov. 25, 1709.

^d Sir *Edward Villiers*, knight, master of the horse to Queen *Mary II*, was created viscount *Villiers*, and baron of *Hoo*, March 20, 1691-2; appointed a plenipotentiary to treat with *France*, Nov. 19, 1696; created earl of *Jersey*, Sept. 24, 1697; appointed ambassador extraordinary to *France*, April 4, 1698; principal secretary of state, May 14, 1699;

time the affairs of *England* at our court by himself ^c. Since the reign of queen *Anne*, he was employed as commissioner of trade; but, the ministry changing soon after Queen *Anne's* coming to the crown, Monsieur *Prior*, who was thought too much attached to the *Rigides* ^f, was laid aside; and lived privately at *Cambridge*, where he is a Professor ^g, till he was recalled by the present Ministry.

About two months ago, our king ^h (resolving once more to give peace to *Europe*, notwithstanding the flourishing condition of his fleets and armies, the good posture of his finances, that his grandson was almost entirely settled in the quiet possession of *Spain*, and that the affairs of the North were changing every day to his advantage) offered the court of *England* to send a minister as far as *Boulogne*, who should be there met by some person from *England*, to treat the overtures of a peace. Upon the first notice that this was agreed

1699; and chamberlain of the household, *June* 24, 1700, which he held till *April* 23, 1704; and died *Aug.* 26, 1711.—

“ He hath gone through all the great offices of the kingdom, with a very ordinary understanding; was employed by one of the greatest kings that ever was, in affairs of the greatest consequence; and yet a man of a weak capacity. He makes a good figure in his person, being tall, well-shaped, handsome, and dresses clean.” *Macky*.

^c Mr. *Prior*, whilst resident in *France* a secretary, having taken a view of the *French* king's triumphs painted by *Le Brun* in the royal apartment at *Versailles*, was asked, by a gentleman who accompanied him, whether king *William* had any thing of that kind in his palace. He replied, “ My master's great actions are to be seen every where but in his own house.”

^f *Tories*. SWIFT.

^g A mistake of the Author; for Monsieur *Prior* did not retire to *Cambridge*; nor is a Professor, but a Fellow. SWIFT.

^h *Louis* XIV. The Author, it should be remembered, is writing in the character of a *Frenchman*.

to, the king immediately dispatched Monsieur *De Torcy*, in whom he very much confides, to *Bologne*, where he took lodging at a private house in *The Fauxbourg*, at one Mr. *De Marais*, a *marchand de soy*, who is married to an *English* woman, that formerly had been a *suivante* to one of the forementioned *English* ambassadors' ⁱ ladies, over against the *Hostellerie de St. Jean*. Monsieur stayed six days with much impatience; when, late at evening, on *Wednesday* the 14th of *July* ^k, a person, whom we afterwards knew to be Monsieur *Prior*, came directly to the door, and enquired for Monsieur *De la Bastide* (the name and place, I suppose, having been before concerted). He was immediately shewn unto Monsieur *Torcy*; where, as I am informed, they were shut up for three hours together, without any refreshment, though Monsieur *Prior* had rid post from *Calais* that day in a great deal of rain. The next morning I was sent for, in all haste, by Monsieur *De Marais*, who told me, "that a person of quality, as he suspected, lately come from *England*, had some occasion for a secretary; and, because he knew I understood the languages, wrote a tolerable hand, had been conversant with persons of quality, and formerly trusted with secrets of importance, had been so kind to recommend me to the said gentleman, to serve him in that quality." I was immediately called up, and presented to Mr *Prior*; who accosted me with great civility, and, after some conversation, was pleased to tell me, "I had fully answered the character Monsieur *De Marais* had given me." From this time, to the day Monsieur *Prior* left *Calais* in order to return to *England*, I may pretend to give you a faithful account of all his motions,

ⁱ Probably the earl of *Jersey's*; whose lady was a *Roman Catholick*.

^k New Style. SWIFT.

and some probable conjectures of his whole negotiations between *Boulogne* and *Versailles* ¹.

But perhaps, Sir, you may be farther curious to know the particulars of Monsieur *Prior's* Journey to *Boulogne*. It is reported, that, some time before the peace of *Ryswick*, king *William* did dispatch this very gentleman to *Paris*, upon the same account for which he now came ^m. This possibly might be the motive (besides the known abilities of Monsieur *Prior* ⁿ) to

¹ The steps which had been taken in this business, previous to Mr. *Prior's* being employed in it, are related by *Swift*, vol. XV. p. 104; and by Monf. *Mefnager*, who seems to have been deep in the secret.

^m It was observed, by a contemporary writer, that this circumstance was *artfully* brought in, to prove that this way of negotiating was no new thing. *History of the Treaty of Utrecht*, p. 134.

ⁿ *Matthew Prior* has been reputed a native of *London*; but was born at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, July 21, 1664. (*Hutchins's Hist.* vol. II. p. 75). His father dying while he was very young, his uncle (a vintner near *Charing-Cross*) had the charge of him, sent him to *Westminster school*, and afterwards took him into his own business. In this situation, he was accidentally distinguished by *Charles* earl of *Dorset*; who, determining to place him in a situation more suited to his fine parts, sent him to *St. John's College, Cambridge*, in 1682; where he proceeded bachelor of arts in 1686, and was shortly after chosen fellow. At the university, he contracted an intimate acquaintance with Mr. *Charles Montague*, afterwards earl of *Halifax*. Upon the Revolution, he was brought to court by his great patron the earl of *Dorset*. In 1690, he was secretary to the plenipotentiaries at *The Hague*; and king *William* was so satisfied with his services, that, in the resolution to keep him near his person, he appointed him a gentleman of the bed-chamber. He was again employed as secretary, at *Ryswick*, in 1697; having been the same year nominated principal secretary of state in *Ireland*. In 1698, he went secretary to the earl of *Portland*, in his embassy to *France*. In 1699, he was made under-secretary in the office of the earl of

to send him a second time. The following particulars

Jersey; and in a few days was ordered back to *Paris*, to assist the ambassador in the Partition-treaty; which he dispatched to the satisfaction of both sovereigns. In 1700, he was appointed one of the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, and was elected member for *East Grinstead*. In 1704 and 1706, he exerted his poetical talent in honour of his country, on the success of her majesty's arms. In July, 1711, he was employed in the commission which occasioned this little tract. In August 1712, being sent again to *France*, to accommodate such matters as then remained unsettled in the congress at *Utrecht*, he had the honour of being presented with the *French* king's picture set with diamonds. From the end of that month, he had the appointment and authority of an ambassador, till the death of the queen; and remained at *Paris* in a public character some months after the accession of king *George I.* On his arrival in *England*, March 25, 1715, he was taken into custody. In 1717, he was excepted out of the act of grace; and, at the close of that year, being discharged from his confinement, retired from business to *Down Hall* in *Essex*; where he died, of a lingering fever, Sept. 11, 1721.

Besides a volume of very elegant poetry*, he was author of a "History of his own time," published after his death by *Adrian Drift*, his secretary; and (as will be mentioned in its proper place) was one of the first institutors of *The Examiner*.

"He is very well at court with the ministry, and is an entire creature of lord *Jersey's*, whom he supports by his advice: is one of the best poets in *England*, but very factious in conversation; a thin hollow-looking man." *Macky*.—"This is near the truth." *SWIFT*, MS.

"One *Prior* (says *Bp. Burnet*), who had been *Jersey's* secretary, upon his death, was employed to prosecute that which the other did not live to finish. *Prior* had been a boy taken out of a tavern by the earl of *Dorset*, who accidentally found him reading *Horace*."—This ill-natured reflection produced the following epigram by *Mr. Dodsley*, re-printed in his "Trifles," p. 241.

"One *Prior*! and is this, this all the fame,
"The Poet from th' Historian can claim?
"No; *Prior's* verse posterity shall quote,
"When 'tis forgot one *Burnet* ever wrote!"

* See his character as a poet in the following tract.

I heard

I heard in discourse between Mademoiselle *De Mârais* and her husband; which, being no great secrets on our side the water, I suppose were told without consequence.

Monsieur *Prior*, having his instructions from the *English* court, under pretence of taking a short journey of pleasure, and visiting the Chevalier *De Hanmer* •
in

• Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, born in 1676, was the son of *William Hanmer*, esq. of *Hanmer* in the county of *Flint*. He received the first part of his education at *Westminster-school*; and completed it at *Christ Church, Oxford*. In the year 1698, he was married to Lady *Isabella*, sole daughter and heiress of *Henry Bennet* earl of *Arlington*, and relict of *Henry* duke of *Grafton*. His first appearance in public life was as representative for the borough of *Flint*, in the parliament which met Dec. 30, 1701, and in which he was at the same time chosen for the borough of *Thetford* in *Norfolk*. In that which assembled on queen *Anne's* accession, he was chosen knight of the shire for *Flint*; represented the county of *Suffolk*; and was appointed speaker of the house of commons, Feb. 18, 1713-14. After the death of his lady the duchess of *Grafton*, with whom he appears to have lived in great harmony and conjugal happiness, he married *Elizabeth* daughter and heiress of *Thomas Folkes*, of *Barton*, in *Suffolk*, esq. a match which unfortunately subjected him to much plague and vexation. This lady, suffering herself to be seduced by the honourable *Thomas Hervey*, a younger son of the earl of *Bristol*, left her husband; and soon after her death, which happened March 24, 1740-1, a dispute arising between Sir *Thomas* and Mr. *Hervey* about some wood on an estate the latter was entitled to after the former's death, and which had been given to him by the lady, he published a pamphlet, intituled, "A Letter from the Honourable *Thomas Hervey* to Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, Bart;" in which he disclosed some domestic circumstances in Sir *Thomas's* life, which laid him open to the ridicule of the world. He was, however, certainly a fine scholar and a celebrated orator. In 1744, he pub-

86 MR. PRIOR'S JOURNEY

in the province of *Suffolk*, left his house on *Sunday* night, the 11th of *July*, N. S. taking none of his servants with him. Monsieur *Moore* P, who had already prepared a bark, with all necessaries, on the coast of *Dover*, took Monsieur *Prior* disguised in his chariot. They lay on *Monday* night, the 12th of *July*, at the Count *De Jersey's* house in *Kent*; arrived in good time the next day at *Dover*, drove directly to the shore, made the sign by waving their hats, which was answered by the vessel; and the boat was immediately sent to take him in: which he entered, wrapt in his cloak, and soon got aboard. He was six hours at sea, and arrived at *Calais* about eleven at night; went immediately to the governor, who received him with great respect, where he lay all night; and set-out pretty late the next morning, being somewhat incommoded with his voyage; and then took post for *Boulogne*, as I have before related.

In the first conversation I had the honour to have with Monsieur *Prior*, he was pleased to talk as if he would have occasion for my service but a very few days; and seemed resolved, by his discourse, that, after he had dispatched his commission with Monsieur *De la Bastide* (for so we shall from henceforward call that minister), he would return to *England*. By this I found I should have but little employment in quality of secretary; however, having heard so great a character of him, I was willing to attend him in any capacity he pleased. Four days we continued at *Boulogne*, where Monsieur *De la Bastide* and Monsieur *Prior* had two long confer-

lished at *Oxford* a very magnificent edition of *Shakespeare*, and printed no more copies than were subscribed for: by which means it became very scarce, but has lately been reprinted. He died *May* 5, 1746.

P *Arthur Moore*, esq. who was a merchant, and one of the lords commissioners of trade. He was brother to the earl of *Drogheda*, and representative in parliament for *Great Grimsby*.

ences

ences every day, from ten to one at noon, and from six till nine in the evening. Monsieur *Prior* did me the honour to send me some meat and wine constantly from his own table. Upon the third morning, I was ordered to attend early; and observed Monsieur *Prior* to have a pleasant countenance. He asked me, "What I thought of a journey to *England*?" and commanded me to be ready at an hour's warning. But, upon the fourth evening, all this was changed; and I was directed to hire the best horse I could find for myself.

We set out early the next day, *Sunday* the 18th, for *Paris*, in Monsieur *De la Bastide's* chaise, whose two attendants and myself made up the equipage; but a small *valise*, which I suppose contained Monsieur *Prior's* instructions, he was pleased to trust to my care, to carry on horseback; which trust I discharged with the utmost faithfulness.

Somewhat above two leagues from *Boulogne*, at a small village called *Neile*, the axletree broke, which took us two hours to mend; we baited at *Montrevil*, and lay that night at *Abbeville*. But I shall not give you any detail of our journey, which passed without any considerable accident till we arrived within four leagues of *Paris*; when, about three in the afternoon, two cavaliers, well mounted, and armed with pistols, crossed the road, then turned short, and rode up briskly to the chaise, commanding the coachman to stop. Monsieur *De la Bastide's* two attendants were immediately up with them; but I, who guessed at the importance of the charge that Monsieur *Prior* had entrusted me with, though I was in no fear for my own person, thought it most prudent to advance with what speed I could to a small village, about a quarter of a league forward, to wait the event. I soon observed the chaise to come on without any disturbance, and I ventured to meet it; when I found that it was only a frolick of two young cadets of quality, who had been making a debauch at a friend's house hard by, and were returning to *Paris*; one of them was not unknown to Monsieur *de la Bastide*.

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The two cavaliers began to railly me; saïd, "I knew "how to make a retreat;" with some other pleasant-ries: but Monsieur *Prior* (who knew the cause) highly commended my discretion. We continued our journey very merrily; and arrived at *Paris* on *Tuesday* the 20th, in the cool of the evening.

At the entrance of the town, our two cavaliers left us; and Monsieur *De la Bastide* conducted Monsieur *Prior* to a private lodging in the *Rue St. Louis*; which, by all circumstances, I concluded to be prepared for his reception. Here I first had orders to say that the gentleman to whom I had the honour to belong was called Monsieur *Matthews*; I then knew no otherwise. Afterwards, at *Versailles*, I overheard, in conversation with Monsieur *De la Bastide*, that his real name was *Prior*.

Monsieur *De la Bastide* would have had Monsieur *Matthews* to have gone with him next morning to *Versailles*, but could not prevail with him to comply; of which I could never be able to learn the reason. Our minister was very importunate, and Monsieur *Prior* seemed to have no fatigue remaining from his journey: perhaps he might conceive it more suitable to his dignity, that Monsieur *De la Bastide* should go before, to prepare the King, by giving notice of his arrival. However it were, Monsieur *De la Bastide* made all haste to *Versailles*, and returned the same night. During his absence, Monsieur *Prior* never stirred out of his chamber; and, after dinner, did me the honour to send for me up, "that I might bear him company," as he was pleased to express it. I was surprized to hear him wondering at the misery he had observed in our country, in his journey from *Calais*; at the scarcity and poverty of the inhabitants, "which," he said, "did much exceed even what he "had seen in his former journey;" for he owned that he had been in *France* before. He seemed to value himself very much upon the happiness of his

own island; which, as he pretended, had felt no effects like these upon trade or agriculture.

I made bold to return for answer, "That, in our nation, we only consulted the magnificence and power of our prince; but that in *England*, as I was informed, the wealth of the kingdom was so divided among the people, that little or nothing was left to their sovereign; and that it was confidently told (though hardly believed in *France*) that some subjects had palaces ^a more magnificent than queen *Anne* herself: That I hoped, when he went to *Versailles*, he would allow the grandeur of our potent monarch to exceed, not only that of *England*, but any other in *Europe*; by which he would find, that what he called the poverty of our nation was rather the effect of policy in our court, than any real want or necessity."

Monseigneur *Prior* had no better answer to make me, than. "That he was no stranger to our court, the splendour of our prince, and the maxims by which he governed; but, for his part, he thought those countries were happier, where the productions of it were more equally divided." Such unaccountable notions is the prejudice of education apt to give! In these and the like discourses, we wore away the time till Monsieur *De la Bastide's* return; who, after an hour's private conference with Monsieur *Prior*, which I found by their countenances had been warmly pursued on both sides, a chariot and six horses (to my great surprize) were instantly ordered, wherein the two ministers entered, and drove away with all expedition; myself only attending on horseback with my important valise.

We got to *Versailles* on *Wednesday* the 21st, about eleven at night; but, instead of entering the town, the coachman drove us a back-way into the fields, till we stopt at a certain vineyard, that I afterwards un-

^a A reflection on the splendid buildings of *Blenheim*.

derstood

derstood joined to the gardens of Madame *Maintenon's* lodgings. Here the two gentlemen alighted; Monsieur *Prior*, calling to me, bad me search in the *valise* for a small box of writings; after which, the coachman was ordered to attend in that place; and we proceeded on some paces, till we stopt at a little postern, which opened into the vineyard, whereof Monsieur *De la Bastide* had the key. He opened it very readily, and shut it after them; desiring me to stay till their return.

I waited with some impatience for three hours: the great clock stuck two before they came out. The coachman, who, I suppose, had his instructions before, as soon as they were got into the chariot, drove away to a small house at the end of the town, where Monsieur *De la Bastide* left us to ourselves. I observed Monsieur *Prior* was very thoughtful; and, without entering into any conversation, desired my assistance to put him to bed. Next morning, *Thursday* the 22d, I had positive orders not to stir abroad. About ten o'clock, Mons. *De la Bastide* came. The house being small, my apartment was divided from Monsieur *Prior's* by a thin wainscot; so that I could easily hear what they said, when they raised their voice, as they often did. After some time, I could hear Monsieur *De la Bastide* say, with great warmth, *Bon Dieu! &c.* " Good God! were ever such demands made to a
" great monarch, unless you were at the gates of
" his metropolis? For the love of God, Monsieur
" *Prior*, relax something, if your instructions will
" permit you: else I shall despair of any good success
" in our negotiation. Is it not enough that our
" king will abandon his grandson, but he must lend
" his own arm to pull him out of the throne? why did
" you not open yourself to me at *Boulogne*? why are
" you more inexorable here at *Versailles*? You have
" risen in your demands, by seeing Madame *Mainte-*
" *non's* desire for a peace! As able as you are to con-
" tinue the war, consider which is to be most pre-
" ferred,

“ferred, the good of your country, or the particular
 “advantage of your General; for he will be the
 “only gainer among your subjects.” Monsieur
Prior, who has a low voice, and had not that occasion
 for passion, answered so softly, that I could not well
 understand him; but, upon parting, I heard him say,
 “If you insist still on these difficulties, my next au-
 “dience will be that of leave.”

Three hours after, Monsieur *De la Bastide* returned
 again, with a countenance more composed. He asked
 Mr. *Prior*, if he would give him leave to dine with
 him? Having no attendants, I readily offered my ser-
 vice at table^r; which Monsieur *Prior* was pleased to
 accept, with abundance of apologies. I found they
 were come to a better understanding. Mr. *Prior* has
 a great deal of wit and vivacity; he entertained Mon-
 sieur *De la Bastide* with much pleasantry, notwith-
 standing their being upon the reserve before me.
 “That Monsieur, says Mr. *Matthews*, if he were *un*
 “*particulier*^s, would be the most agreeable person in
 “the world.” I imagined they spoke of the king;
 but, going often in and out, I could not preserve the
 connexion of their discourse. “Did you mind how
 “obligingly he enquired, whether our famous che-
 “valier *Newton*^t was still living? He told me, my
 “good

^r By this and some other preceding particulars, we may
 discover what sort of Secretary the Author was. SWIFT.

^s A Private Man. SWIFT.

^t This illustrious philosopher and mathematician was
 born Dec. 25, 1642, at *Woolstrop* in *Lincolnshire*. He
 was educated at *Grantham*; and removed to *Trinity Col-
 lege, Cambridge*, in 1660. He was forced from thence in
 1665, by the plague; but at his return was made M. A.
 and fellow of his college: in 1669, professor of Mathe-
 matics; in 1696 warden, and in 1697 master, of the mint;
 in 1703, president of the Royal Society; in 1705, was
 knighted by queen *Anne*. He died March 20, 1726-7.
 His

“ good friend poor *Despreaux* ” was dead since I was “ in *France* ; and asked me after queen *Anne*’s health.” These are some of the particulars I over-heard whilst at dinner ; which confirmed my opinion, that Monsieur *Prior* had an audience of his majesty.

About ten that evening, Monsieur *De la Bastide* came to take Monsieur *Matthews*, to go to the same place where they were at before. I was permitted to enter the vineyard, but not the gardens, being left at the gate to wait their return ; which was in about two hours time. The moon shone bright ; and, by Monsieur *Matthews*’s manner, I thought he appeared somewhat dissatisfied. When he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in some passion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room for above an hour, extremely pensive : at length he called to be put to bed ; and ordered me to set a candle by his bed-side, and to fetch him some papers out of his *walise* to read.

On *Friday* the 23d, in the morning, Monsieur *Matthews* was so obliging to call me to him ; with the assurance, that he was extremely pleased with my discretion and manner of address ; as a proof of which satisfaction, he would give me leave to satisfy my curiosity with seeing so fine a place as *Versailles* ; telling me, “ he should return next day towards *Boulogne* ; “ and therefore advised me to go immediately to view

His works which are an honour not only to this nation but to mankind in general, are too well known to need recital : a good edition of them, which has been long a *desideratum* in literature, may soon be expected from the masterly hand of Dr. *Horsley*, Sec. R. S.

“ Monsieur *Boileau*, the famous *French* Poet. SWIFT.— He was born at *Paris*, Nov. 1, 1636 ; was bred to the law, which he exchanged for divinity ; but afterwards quitted both, and applied himself to poetry, in which he deservedly obtained the highest degree of reputation. He died March 2, 1711.

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Monsieur *De la Bastide* having staid the afternoon with Monsieur *Matthews*, about eight o'clock they went to the rendezvous. My curiosity had led me in the morning to take a stricter view of the vineyard and gardens. I remained at the gate as before. In an hour and half's time, Monsieur *Matthews*, with Monsieur *De la Bastide*, another gentleman, and a lady, came into the walk. *De la Bastide* opened the gate, and held it some time in his hand. Whilst Monsieur *Matthews* was taking his leave of those persons, I heard the lady say, at parting, *Monsieur, songez-vous, &c.* “ Consider this night on what we have said to you.” The gentleman seconded her; saying, *Ouy, ouy, Monsieur, songez-vous-en pour la dernier fois.* “ Aye, aye, Sir, consider for the last time.” To which Monsieur *Matthews* answered briskly, in going out, *Sire, tout ou rien, &c.* “ Sir, all or none, as I have had the honour to tell your majesty before w.” Which puts it beyond dispute what the quality of those persons were, by whom Monsieur *Matthews* had the honour to be entertained.

On Saturday the 24th, Monsieur *Matthews* kept close as before; telling me, “ a post-chaise was ordered, to carry him to *Calais*; and he would do me the grace * to take me with him, to keep him company in the journey, for he should leave Monsieur *De la Bastide* at *Versailles*.” Whilst we were discoursing, that gentleman came in, with an open air, and a smiling countenance. He embraced Monsieur

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Matthews; and seemed to feel so much joy, that he could not easily conceal it. I left the chamber, and retired to my own; whence I could hear him say, "*Courage, Monsieur*: no travelling to-day. Madame "*Maintenon* will have me once more conduct you to "her." After which I was called, and received orders about dinner, &c. Monsieur *De la Bastide* told me, "We should set out about midnight." He staid the rest of the day with Monsieur *Matthews*. About ten o'clock they went forth, but dispensed with my attendance; it was one in the morning before they returned, though the chaise was at the gate soon after eleven. Monsieur *Matthews* took a morsel of bread, and a large glass of *Hermitage* wine; after which they embraced with much kindness, and so parted.

Our journey to *Calais* passed without any accident worth informing you. Mr. *Prior*, who is of a constitution somewhat tender, was troubled with a rheumy, which made speaking uneasy to him: but it was not so at all to me; and therefore I entertained him, as well as I could, chiefly with the praises of our great Monarch, the magnificence of his court, the number of his attendants, the awe and veneration paid him by his generals and ministers, and the immense riches of the kingdom. One afternoon, in a small village between *Chaumont* and *Beauvais*, as I was discoursing on this subject, several poor people followed the chaise, to beg our charity; one louder than the rest, a comely person, about fifty, all in rags, but with a mien that shewed him to be of a good house, cried out, *Monsieur, pour l'amour de Dieu, &c.* "Sir, for the love of God, "give something to the marquis *De Sourdis*!" Mr. *Prior*, half asleep, roused himself up at the name of *marquis*, called the poor gentleman to him, and, observing something in his behaviour like a man of qua-

y "Walking is a strange remedy: Mr. *Prior* walks to "make himself fat, and I to bring myself down; he has "generally a cough, which he calls a cold." Journal to *Stella*, Feb. 21, 1710-11.

lity,

lity, very generously threw him a *pistole*. As the coach went on, Monsieur *Prior* asked me, with much surprize, "Whether I thought it possible that un-
 "happy creature could be *un veritable marquis*^z; for,
 "if it were so, surely the miseries of our country
 "must be much greater than even our very enemies
 "could hope or believe." I made bold to tell him,
 "That I thought we could not well judge from par-
 "ticulars to generals; and that I was sure there were
 "great numbers of *marquises* in *France*, who had ten
 "thousand *livres* a year." I tell you this passage, to
 let you see that the wisest men have some prejudices
 of their country about them! We got to *Calais* on
Wednesday the 28th in the evening; and the next morn-
 ing (the 29th) I took my leave of Monsieur *Prior*;
 who, thanking me in the civilest manner in the world
 for the service I had done him, very nobly made me a
 present of fifty *pistoles*; and so we parted. He put to
 sea with a fair wind; and, I suppose, in a few hours
 landed in *England*^a.

This,

^z A real *marquis*. SWIFT.

^a "The journey of *Prior*, as well as its object, remained
 "a secret from the publick till he returned to *England*,
 "accompanied by *Mesnager*, in the first week in *August*.
 "Having landed, from a small vessel, at *Deal*, he was
 "detained by the custom-house officers, till he was re-
 "leased by orders from *London*. One *Macky* was the per-
 "son whose intemperate vigilance made this unseasonable
 "discovery. This busy man, having imposed himself upon
 "king *William* as a spy upon the Court of *St. Germain's*,
 "had been gratified with a commission to direct the
 "packet-boats at *Dover*. In gratitude for what he had
 "received, and perhaps in expectation of more, he held a
 "constant correspondence with the secretary of state's
 "office, mixing a great deal of conjecture with a small
 "portion of intelligence. When *Prior* passed clandes-
 "tinely from *Dover* to *Calais*, *Macky* wrote to Mr. Se-
 "cretary *St. John*, that an *English* gentleman had taken
 "his passage to *France*. *St. John*, to conceal the affair
 "from the publick, desired *Macky* to keep the thing a
 "secret,

96 MR. PRIOR'S JOURNEY

This, Sir, is the utmost I am able to inform you about Monsieur *Prior's* journey and negotiation. Time alone

"secret, and to watch the man's return. These instructions were better followed by *Macky* than *St. John* intended. That officious servant employed all his people, between *The Forelands*, to watch the return of *Prior*. He at length had advice that a vessel had landed, at *Deal*, three persons with Mr. Secretary *St. John's* pass. He made haste to *Canterbury*; and met there his old acquaintance *Matthew Prior*, under a feigned name. *Macky* dispatched immediately an express to the duke of *Marlborough*, then besieging *Bouchain*, with this important intelligence. He informed also the earl of *Sunderland* of what he had heard and seen; and that nobleman communicated to the Imperial and *Dutch* ambassadors his fixed opinion, that negotiations of peace were begun. *Marlborough* sent a copy of *Macky's* letter to Secretary *St. John*. The informer was dismissed from office *. But the mischief was already done. The Im-

* *John Macky*, having lost his office, was thrown into prison for debt. After the accession of king *George*, the packet-boats to *Dublin* were put under his direction; which not answering his expectations in point of profit, he represented his case in 1723 to Mr. Secretary *Walpole*, who employed him in some services on the continent, and rendered the close of his life comfortable. He died at *Rotterdam*, in 1726. The "Characters of the Court of Great Britain" (drawn up in his name in 1703 for the use of the princess *Sophia*, but which were in truth written by a Mr. *Davis*, an officer in the customs) were annexed to his *Memoirs of Secret Service*, printed in 1732, from a MS. said to be attested by his son *Spring Macky*, esq.—The Editor of this Supplement has been permitted to transcribe Dr. *Swift's* Notes on these curious characters, from a copy formerly belonging to *John Putland*, esq. a near relation to the Dean, and who took them from *Swift's* own hand-writing. This volume afterwards came into the possession of *Philip Carteret Webb*, esq. and is now the property of *Thomas Astle*, esq. a gentleman to whom the publick are indebted for several very accurate and curious publications, and whose valuable collections are rendered infinitely more so by that obliging readiness with which he communicates them at all times when they are likely to promote the success of any literary undertaking.

" perial

alone will let us know the events of it, which are yet in the dark.

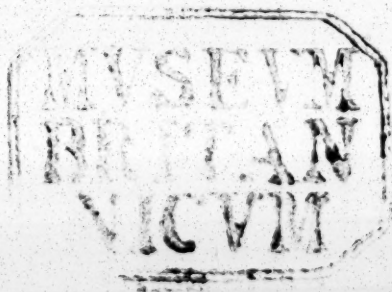
I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

DU BAUDRIER.

“ perial minister expostulated with the Ministry, concern-
“ ing the secret negotiations which were suspected to sub-
“ sist between *Great Britain* and *France*. He was told,
“ by way of answer, “ That he had no reason to be
“ alarmed: that the queen was resolved never to hearken
“ to any terms of peace that might derogate from her en-
“ gagements to her allies.” The intercourse between the
“ two courts being no longer a secret, the substance of
“ the projected treaty of peace was carried to the press by
“ the opposing party, and eagerly defended by the friends
“ of the Ministry. The famous Dr. *Jonathan Swift* em-
“ ployed his abilities in favour of the measures of the
“ crown. *Prior* was not an indifferent spectator of a
“ contest, in which he himself was personally concerned.”

Macpherson.



P O S T S C R I P T.

By the TRANSLATOR.

The Author of this tract, having left his master on shipboard at *Calais*, had, it seems, no further intelligence when he published it: neither am I able to supply it, but by what passes in common report; which, being in every body's mouth, but with no certainty, I think it needless to repeat.

THE

T H E
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F
W I T.

First printed in 1711.

Reprinted from a Copy in the *Lambeth* Library,
M. 1. 71.

H 2

“ Dr. *Freind* was with me, and pulled out a two-penny pamphlet just published, called *The State of Wit**, giving a character of all the papers that have come out of late. The author seems to be a Whig; yet he speaks very highly of a paper called *The Examiner*, and says the supposed author of it is Dr. *Swift*. But above all things he praises the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*; and I believe *Steele* and *Addison* were privy to the printing of it. Thus one is treated by those impudent dogs!”

Journal to *Stella*, May 14, 1711.

* This little tract, it is acknowledged, hath strictly no pretension to a place amongst *Swift's* writings. Yet the light it throws on the various periodical papers of the time when it was written will, we doubt not, be deemed a sufficient reason for preserving it in this collection.

T H E
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F
W I T, &c.

S I R,

YOU acquaint me, in your last, that you are still so busy building at ———, that your friends must not hope to see you in town this year: at the same time you desire me, that you may not be quite at a loss in conversation among the *beau monde* next winter, to send you an account of the present state of Wit in town; which, without further preface, I shall therefore endeavour to perform, and give you the histories and characters of all our Periodical Papers, whether monthly, weekly, or diurnal, with the same freedom I used to send you our other town-news.

I shall only premise, that as you know I never cared one farthing either for Whig or Tory; so I shall consider our Writers purely as they are such, without any respect to which party they belong.

Dr. King^b has for some time lain down his *Monthly Philosophical Transactions*, which, the title-page informed

^b Dr. William King, born in 1663, was educated at Westminster-school, and thence elected a student of Christ-Church; he was admitted an advocate in *Doctors Commons* in 1692, and appointed judge of the high court of admiralty in Ireland in 1702. A natural indolence, and a turn for dissipation, having greatly reduced his circumstances; he was indebted to the friendship of Dr. Swift, at the end

ed us at first, were only "to be continued as they "sold c;" and though that gentleman has *a world of wit*, yet, as it lies in one particular way of *raillery*, the town soon grew weary of his writings; though I cannot but think that their author deserves a much better fate than to languish out the small remainder of his life in *The Fleet-prison*.

About the same time that the Doctor left off writing, one Mr. Ozell^d put out his *Monthly Amusement*, which is still continued; and, as it is generally some *French* novel or play indifferently translated, is more or less taken notice of as the original piece is more or less agreeable.

As to our Weekly Papers; the poor *Review*^e is quite exhausted, and grown so very contemptible, that, though

of the year 1711, for the office of gazetteer: which he enjoyed but a few months; the labour being more than suited his inclinations. He died Dec. 25, 1712. His Original Works, which are remarkable for a peculiar vein of humour and exquisite raillery, were printed, with Historical Notes and Memoirs of the Author, in 3 volumes, 8vo, 1776.

^c They began in *January* 1708-9; and ended in *September* 1709.

^d John Ozell, a voluminous translator, who, having incurred the displeasure of Mr. Pope, was very severely handled by him and his Commentator, in the *Dunciad* and the Notes upon it. Mr. Ozell published hardly any thing original; and his translations are not in much repute. He was auditor-general of the city and bridge accounts, of *St. Paul's* cathedral, and of *St. Thomas's* hospital; and is said to have been a very worthy man, and an excellent companion. He died Oct. 15, 1743.

^e This paper was entirely the production of Daniel De Foe; whom we have mentioned, p. 49, to have been unsuccessful in trade. He was invited in 1694 to settle at *Cadiz*, as an agent to the *English* merchants: which he declined from patriotic motives; and was some time after appointed accountant to the commissioners of the glass duty. *Tutchin* having in 1700 written "The Foreigners," an infamous satire.

though he has provoked all his brothers of the quill round, none of them will enter into a controversy with him. This fellow, who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those wits, who, as an ingenious author says, "will endure but one skimming."

The Observer ^f was almost in the same condition; but, since our party-struggles have run so high, he is much mended for the better; which is imputed to the charitable assistance of some out-lying friends.

satire on king *William* and the whole *Dutch* nation; *De Foe* wrote "*The Trueborn Englishman*," as an antidote to it, and thereby recommended himself to the notice of his sovereign, who failed not to reward the author. He experienced some difficulties at the beginning of the queen's reign, from writing in favour of the Dissenters: but had the satisfaction of receiving afterwards some signal proofs of royal favour; and was employed during lord *Godolphin's* ministry in some important commissions. In this period, and throughout the queen's reign, he wrote an amazing number of tracts, thirty of which have been collected in two volumes, 8vo. Many, however, were ascribed to him, which he had no hand in. The paper called "*The Mercator*" was likewise supposed to come from him; though he was only now and then an occasional assistant in it. See some account of him, by himself, under the title of "*An Appeal to Honour and Justice, &c.*" 1715. A tolerable satire on his "*Robinson Crusoe*" was published in 1719, under the title of "*The Life and surprizing Adventures of Mr. Daniel De Foe, of London, Hofier.*"

^f *The Observer* was begun, April 1, 1702, by *John Tutchin* (mentioned above, p. 48). Becoming obnoxious to the Tories, he received a severe beating in August 1701; and died in much distress on the 23d of September, aged 44. In some verses on his death, he is called "*Captain Tutchin*." He published a volume of poems in 8vo, 1685; and "*Whitehall in flames*, a pindaric poem occasioned by the burning of that royal palace, 1698;" and in 1700, "*The Foreigners.*"—*The Observer* was continued by *Ridpath*, who is also mentioned above, p. 48.

These two authors might, however, have flourished some time longer, had not the controversy been taken up by much abler hands g.

The Examiner is a paper which all men, who speak without prejudice, allow to be well written. Though his subject will admit of no great variety, he is continually placing it in so many different lights, and endeavouring to inculcate the same thing by so many beautiful changes of expression, that men who are concerned in no party may read him with pleasure. His way of assuming the question in debate is extremely artful; and his letter to *Crassus* is, I think, a master-piece. As these papers are supposed to have been written by several hands ^h, the criticks will tell you, that they can discern a difference in their styles and beauties, and pretend to observe, that the first *Examiners* abound chiefly in Wit, the last in Humour.

Soon

g Good portraits of *De Foe* and *Ridpath* (who are styled "The *British* Libelers") were engraved under a head of *Steele* (in the character of *Isaac Bickerstaff*, esq. the *British* Cenfor), as an ornament to a whimsical poem in folio, called "The Three Champions," printed about 1711, a copy of which is among the many curious tracts bequeathed by Abp. *Secker* to the *Lambeth* Library.

^h On the third of *August*, 1710, appeared the first number of *The Examiner*, the ablest vindication of the measures of the queen and her new ministry. "About a dozen of these papers," Dr. *Swift* tells us *, "written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Secretary *St. John*, since lord *Bolingbroke*; others by Dr. *Atterbury*, since bishop of *Rocheſter*; and others again by Mr. *Prior*, Dr. *Freind*, &c. were published with great applause. But these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it, which I did accordingly eight

* Vol. XV. p. 26.

" months.

Soon after their first appearance, came out a paper from the other side, called *The Whig Examiner*ⁱ, written with so much fire, and in so excellent a style, as put the Tories in no small pain for their favourite hero: every one cried, *Bickerstaff* must be the author; and people were the more confirmed in this opinion upon its being so soon laid down, which seemed to shew that it was only written to bind the *Examiners* to their good behaviour, and was never designed to be a weekly paper. *The Examiners* therefore have no one to combat with at present, but their friend *The Medley*; the author of which paper, though he seems to be a man

“ months *. But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall
 “ into other hands, who held it up in some manner until
 “ her majesty’s death.” Dr. *Swift* began with N^o 13, and ended by writing a part of N^o 45 †; when Mrs. *Manley* took it up, and finished the first volume: it was afterwards resumed by Mr. *Oldmixon*, who compleated four volumes more, and published nineteen numbers of a sixth volume, when the queen’s death put an end to the work.

ⁱ By Mr. *Addison*, assisted by Mr. *Maynwaring*. See above, p. 47. By its being laid down to make room for *The Medley*, Mr. *Oldmixon* concludes it to have been principally the work of Mr. *Maynwaring*.

* The original institutors of that paper are supposed to have employed Dr. *W. King* as their publisher, or ostensible author, before they prevailed on their great Champion to undertake that task. Mr. *Oldmixon* thought that Mr. *Prior* had a principal hand in the early numbers; and it is well known that he wrote N^o 6, professedly against Dr. *Garth*. Dr. *King* was the author of N^o 11, O^r. 12; and of N^o 12, O^r. 19. On the 26th of October, no *Examiner* at all appeared; and the next number, which was published Nov. 2, was written by Dr. *Swift*. See the *Memoirs of Dr. King*.—Mr. *Prior*, however, was by many still considered as the author, as appears by the *Journal to Stella*, Feb. 9, 1710-11.

† This number, having been unaccountably omitted in all former collections of the Dean’s Works, is restored in our Supplement, on the authority of Dr. *Swift* himself.

of

of good sense, and expresses it luckily enough now and then, is, I think, for the most part, perfectly a stranger to fine writing ^k.

I presume I need not tell you, that *The Examiner* carries much the more sail, as it is supposed to be written by the direction, and under the eye, of some great persons who sit at the helm of affairs, and is consequently looked on as a sort of public notice which way they are steering us ^l. The reputed author is Dr. *Swift*,

^k This reflection was certainly intended for *Oldmixon*, being by no means applicable to Mr. *Maynawaring*.

^l Lord *Orrery*, who commends the *Examiners* for their "nervous style, clear diction, and great knowledge of the true landed interest of *England*," observes, that their author "was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence;" that "he was *employed*, not *trusted*." And another noble writer [†] asserts, that "the lie of the day was coined and delivered out to him, to write *Examiners* and other political papers upon." With all due deference, however, to these great authorities, the present Editor cannot but be of opinion that *Swift's* manly fortitude and very accurate discernment of the human heart would prevent his being a dupe to the duplicity of a statesman, however dignified. He himself assures us, "that he was of a temper to think no man great enough to set him on work [‡];" that "he absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord treasurer, because he thought it would ill become him to be in a state of dependance [§]." Indeed his whole conduct in that busy period (in which "it was his lot to have been daily conversant with the

* Remarks, &c. Lett. iv.

† The late earl of *Chesterfield*, in a passage we shall have occasion to quote more at large hereafter. It may be proper to take notice, that neither of these noble peers appear to have seen *Swift's* "Preface" to his "History of the Four last Years of the Queen."

‡ See above, p. 57.

§ See vol. XV. p. 37.—The spirited indignation, with which he spurned a bank-note, imprudently offered him by the treasurer, is well known. Mr. *Harley* found it necessary to make concessions.

"persons,

Swift, with the assistance sometimes of Dr. *Atterbury*^m and Mr. *Prior*.

The Medley is said to be written by Mr. *Oldmixon*, and
super-

“ persons then in power; never absent in times of business
“ or conversation, until a few weeks before her majesty’s
“ death; and a witness of every step they made in the
“ course of their administration *) demonstrates the re-
spectable situation in which he then stood. And when at
last the time arrived in which he was to be rewarded for
his services, in how different a light does he appear from
that of a *hireling writer*! He frankly told the treasurer,
“ he could not with any reputation stay longer here, un-
“ less he had something honourable immediately given to
“ him †.” And whilst his patrons were undetermined whe-
ther he should be promoted to *St. Patrick’s* or to a stall at
Windsor, he openly assured lord *Bolingbroke*, “ he would
“ not stay for their disputes †.” And we find he exerted
his interest so effectually with the duke of *Ormond*, as to
over-rule a prejudice that nobleman had conceived against
Dr. *Sterne*, whose promotion to the see of *Dromore* made
the vacancy at *St. Patrick’s*. The duke, with great kind-
ness, said, “ he would consent; but would do it for no
“ man else but me §.” *Swift* acknowledges “ this affair
“ was carried with great difficulty;” but adds, “ they say
“ here, it is much to my reputation, that I have made a
“ bishop in spite of the world, and to get the best deanry
“ Ireland ¶.”

^m *Francis Atterbury*, born March 6, 1662, was educated
at *Westminster*; and in 1680 was elected a student of *Christ-
Church*. In 1693, he applied to the earl of *Nottingham*,
to succeed to his father’s rectory of *Milton*; but, being un-
successful, came to *London*: where he was soon distin-
guished, appointed chaplain to King *William*, and elected
preacher at *Bridewell*, and lecturer of *St. Bride’s*; which
last office he resigned in *December* 1698. In 1700, he was
made archdeacon of *Totness*; and, entering deeply into
the famous controversy concerning the convocation, was
created doctor in divinity in a manner which did him fin-

* Vol. XV. p. 35.

† Journal to *Stella*, Apr. 13, 1713.

§ Ibid. Apr. 19.

‡ Ibid. Apr. 15.

¶ Ibid. Apr. 23.

supervised by Mr. *Maynwaring*, who perhaps might in-

gular honour. On the accession of queen *Anne*, he was made one of her chaplains; in *October 1704*, dean of *Carlisle*; in *1707*, canon residentiary of *Exeter*; in *1709*, preacher at *The Rolls*. In *1710*, he was unanimously chosen prolocutor of the lower house of convocation; in *1712*, made dean of *Christ Church*; in the beginning of *June 1713*, advanced to the bishoprick of *Rocheſter* and deanry of *Westminster*; and, if the queen had lived, would probably have obtained *Canterbury*. He officiated, as dean, at the coronation of king *George I*; and, it is said, received from his majesty ſome marks of perſonal diſlike. In *1715*, he reſuſed to ſign the declaration publiſhed by the Biſhops on that occaſion, and was ever afterward in conſtant oppoſition to the Court. He was apprehended on ſuſpicion of treaſon, and committed to *The Tower*, *Aug. 22, 1722*. The bill to inflict pains and penalties on him received the royal aſſent *May 27, 1723*. It is ſaid, the king ſigned this bill with regret, from concern at there being cauſe to baniſh a man of ſuch eminent parts and learning. His ſentence was ſomewhat ſoftened, by his daughter's being allowed to attend him on his travels; and Mr. *Morice*, her huſband, was permitted freely to correſpond with him. On the *18th of June*, he left this kingdom; and died at *Paris*, *Feb. 17, 1731-2*. His body was brought to *England*, and interred in *Westminster-Abbey*. It is univerſally agreed that he was a man of uncommon learning and abilities, perfectly ſkilled in polite literature, and a moſt accompliſhed writer. But his political character, notwithstanding the apparently-genuine effuſions of patriotiſm and philanthy which breathe throughout his correſpondence with Mr. *Pope* *, ſtands ſtamped with an indelible ſtain; of which his letters to the pretender and his adherents in *1725* afford too glaring a proof!

* Mr. *Pope's* regard for the biſhop induced him to appear in his behalf in the houſe of peers, though what it was in his power to ſay on the ſubject could not poſſibly be of any uſe. That great poet ſays, in one of his letters, " I am at preſent under the afflict-
" ing circumſtance of taking my laſt leave of one of the trueſt
" friends I ever had, and one of the greateſt men in all polite
" learning, as well as the moſt agreeable companion this nation
" ever had." Letter to a Lady, *June 2, 1723*.

tirely

tirely write those few papers which are so much better than the rest ⁿ.

Before I proceed further in the account of our Weekly Papers, it will be necessary to inform you, that, at the beginning of the winter, to the infinite surprize of all men, Mr. Steele flung up *his Tatler*; and, instead of *Isaac Bickerstaff* esq. subscribed himself *Richard Steele* ^o to the last of those papers, after an handsome

ⁿ This was exactly true. Mr. *Oldmixon*, in his above-cited Life of Mr. *Maynwaring*, attributes each number of *The Medley* to its proper writer

^o This distinguished writer, who was a native of *Dublin* (his father being private secretary to *James* duke of *Ormond*), was educated with Mr. *Addison* at the *Charter-house*. His inclination taking a military turn, he entered into the guards, where he soon obtained an ensign's commission; and in that station commenced author, by writing his "Christian Hero," printed in 1701; and followed in the next year by "The Funeral," a comedy; which recommended him to the notice of king *William*, but too late in that monarch's life to be of any use to Mr. *Steele*. His next appearance as a writer was, in his own words, "in the quality of the lowest minister of state, as gazetteer;" an office he owed to Mr. *Addison*'s introducing him to the earls of *Halifax* and *Sunderland*. In 1703, his "Tender Husband" was acted; as was "The Lying Lovers" in 1704. In 1709, he began "The Tatler;" and was soon after made one of the commissioners of the stamp-office. In 1710-11, in concert with Mr. *Addison*, he set-up "The Spectator;" in 1712-13, "The Guardian;" and in 1713, "The *Englishman*," under which latter title he began a second collection in 1715. In 1713, he was chosen member for *Stockbridge*; but was expelled, March 15, 1713- for some libellous paragraphs in "The *Englishman*" and "The Crisis;" in the revival and correction of which latter work he was assisted by Bp. *Hoadly*, Mr. *Addison*, Mr. *Letchmere*, and Mr. *Minshall*.—"I am in a thousand troubles for poor *Dick*," (says Mr. *Addison*, in a letter to Mr. *Hughes*, Oct. 12, 1713,) "and wish that his zeal
" for

some compliment to the Town, for their kind acceptance of his endeavours to divert them. The chief reason

"for the publick may not be ruinous to himself; but he has sent me word, that he is determined to go on; and that any advice I can give him, in this particular, will have no weight with him." Mr. *Addison* (as the event shewed) was too true a prophet.—At the end of 1713, Mr. *Steele* began "The Lover; and in 1714, "The Reader." In this year, he appeared as editor of a volume of Miscellaneous Poems; and wrote "The *Romish Ecclesiastical History of late years;*" and in 1715, "An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World." In April that year, he was knighted by king *George I*; who had before appointed him surveyor of the royal stables at *Hampton Court*, and governor of the royal company of comedians. In the same year, he collected several of his pieces into a volume, under the title of "Political Writings;" and published a paper called "The Town Talk;" in 1718, "An Account of the Fish Pool;" in 1719, "The Spinster," and "A Letter to the Earl of *Oxford* concerning the Bill of Peerage;" and, *January 2, 1719-20*, began "The Theatre*." (This latter paper, "The Town Talk," and "The Spinster," have not yet been collected into volumes.)—On the 23d of that month, his patent of governor of the royal comedians was revoked; on which he printed a state of the case between the lord chamberlain and himself, computing his loss at almost 10 000*l*. He published "The Crisis of Property," *Jan. 31, 1719-20*; and, "A Nation a Family; being the Sequel of the Crisis of Property; or a Plan for the Improvement of the *South-Sea Scheme*," *Feb. 24*. "The Conscious Lovers" was acted with great success in 1722; and the king, to whom it was dedicated, gave him 500*l*. Some years before his death, he grew paralytic, and retired

* This paper seems to have been soon laid aside. Sir *Richard* was smartly attacked for it by Mr. *Dennis*, when he had published six numbers, in a pamphlet called "The Characters and Conduct of Sir *John Edger*," the name he assumed in that publication.

reason he thought fit to give, for his leaving off writing, was, that, having been so long looked-on in all public places and companies as the author of those papers, he found that his most intimate friends and acquaintance were in pain to act or speak before him, The town was very far from being satisfied with this reason; and most people judged the true cause to be, either that he was quite spent, and wanted matter to continue his undertaking any longer, or that he laid it down as a sort of submission to, or composition with, the government, for some past offences; or, lastly, that he had a mind to vary his shape, and appear again in some new light P.

However

to his feat at *Llangunner* near *Caermarthen* in *Wales*; where he died, *Sept. 1, 1729*. He had been twice married; and his great esteem for his second lady is testified in a dedication to "The Ladies Library."—It appears by his "Reader," *May 3, 1714*, that he had materials for a History of the war in *Flanders*; which he proposed to print in folio, but did not execute. These papers afterwards came into the hands of Mr. *Mallet*; to whom 500*l.* was bequeathed by the dutchess of *Marlborough*, to write the life of her deceased lord. Mr. *Mallet*, it appears by several of his writings, engaged in the undertaking; and, in a dedication to the present duke of *Marlborough*, published a short time before his death, speaks of the work as nearly finished. However, it has not been made public hitherto; and is generally believed to be entirely suppressed.—Sir *Richard* was one of the last eminent men who entertained hopes of being successful in the pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone; a circumstance alluded to in the following couplet of "The *British* Censor," a satire leveled at *Steele*, in 1712:

"A Chemist now, whose vain projection broke,

"Was not his sense in part dissolv'd in smoke?"

His Laboratory was at *Poplar*, a village near *London*; and is now converted into a garden house.

P On the second of *January, 1710-11*, Dr. *Swift* tells *Stella*, "Steele's last *Tatler* came out to-day. You will
" see

However that were, his disappearing seemed to be bewailed as some general calamity: every one wanted so agreeable an amusement: and the coffee-houses began to be sensible, that the Esquire's lucubrations alone had brought them more customers than all their other news-papers put together.

"see it before this comes to you, and how he takes leave of the world. He never told so much as Mr. Addison of it, who was surprized as much as I; but, to say truth, it was time; for he grew dull, and dry. To my knowledge, he had several GOOD HINTS to go upon; but he was so lazy, and weary of the work, that he would not improve them."—*Jan. 11*, he adds, "I am setting up a new *Tatler*: little *Harrison*, whom I have mentioned to you. Others have put him on it, and I encourage him; and he was with me this morning and evening, shewing me his first, which comes out on *Saturday*. I doubt he will not succeed, for I do not much approve his manner; but the scheme is Mr. Secretary *St. John's* and mine, and would have done well enough in good hands. I recommended him to a printer, whom I sent for, and settled the matter between them this evening."—This publication was continued till *May 19, 1711*; when fifty-two papers were collected into a *fifth volume*, not unworthy a place in any library which contains the former volumes.—Mr. *Harrison*, the apparent publisher, was a young gentleman high in esteem; and (as *Swift* expresses it) "a little pretty fellow, with a great deal of wit, good-sense, and good-nature*;" but had at that time no other income than forty pounds a year, as governor to one of the duke of *Queensberry's* sons. He fortunately attracted the favour of Dr. *Swift*; whose generous solicitations with Mr. *St. John* obtained for him the very reputable employment of secretary to lord *Raby*, then ambassador at *The Hague*. A letter from him whilst at *Utrecht* is printed in vol. XIX. p. 198, to which Dr. *Birch* has annexed some curious particulars of Mr. *Harrison*; who did not long enjoy his rising fortune, dying *Feb 14, 1712-13*. See the *Journal to Stella*, of that and the following day; where Dr. *Swift* laments his loss with the most unaffected sincerity.

* See *Journal to Stella*, Oct. 13, 1710.

It must indeed be confessed, that never man threw up his pen under stronger temptations to have employed it longer; his reputation was at a greater height than, I believe, ever any living author's was before him. It is reasonable to suppose that his gains were proportionably considerable; every one read him with pleasure and good-will; and the Tories, in respect to his other good qualities, had almost forgiven his unaccountable imprudence in declaring against them. Lastly, it was highly improbable, if he threw off a character the ideas of which were so strongly impressed in every one's mind, however finely he might write in any new form, that he should meet with the same reception.

To give you my own thoughts of this gentleman's writings, I shall in the first place observe, that there is this noble difference between him and all the rest of our polite and gallant authors: the latter have endeavoured to please the age by falling-in with them, and encouraging them in their fashionable vices, and false notions of things. It would have been a jest some time since, for a man to have asserted that any thing witty could be said in praise of a married state; or that devotion and virtue were any way necessary to the character of a fine gentleman. *Bickerstaff* ventured to tell the town, that they were a parcel of fops, fools, and vain coquettes; but in such a manner, as even pleased them, and made them more than half-inclined to believe that he spoke truth.

Instead of complying with the false sentiments or various tastes of the age, either in morality, criticism, or good-breeding; he has boldly assured them, that they were altogether in the wrong, and commanded them, with an authority which perfectly well became him, to surrender themselves to his arguments for virtue and good-sense.

It is incredible to conceive the effect his writings have had on the town; how many thousand follies

they have either quite banished, or given a very great check to; how much countenance they have added to virtue and religion; how many people they have rendered happy, by shewing them it was their own fault if they were not so; and, lastly, how intirely they have convinced our fops and young fellows of the value and advantages of learning.

He has indeed rescued it out of the hands of pedants and fools, and discovered the true method of making it amiable and lovely to all mankind. In the dress he gives it, it is a most welcome guest at tea-tables and assemblies, and is relished and caressed by the merchants on *the 'Change*; accordingly, there is not a lady at court, nor a banker in *Lombard-street*, who is not verily persuaded, that *Captain Steele* is the greatest scholar and best casuist of any man in *England*.

Lastly, his writings have set all our wits and men of letters upon a new way of thinking, of which they had little or no notion before; and though we cannot yet say that any of them have come up to the beauties of the original, I think we may venture to affirm, that every one of them writes and thinks much more justly than they did some time since.

The vast variety of subjects which he has treated of in so different a manner, and yet all so perfectly well, made the world believe that it was impossible they should all come from the same hand. This set every one upon guessing who was the Squire's friend; and most people at first fancied it must be

Dr. *Felton* tells us, "The grave and facetious Squire *Bickerstaff* hath drawn mankind in every dress, and every disguise of nature, in a style ever varying with the humours, fancies, and follies, he describes;" that "he hath shewn himself a master in every turn of his pen, whether his subject be light or serious;" and, from his having laid down the rules of common life with so much judgment, in such lively and agreeable language," recommends him as a model of manners and of style.

Dr. *Swift*; but it is now no longer a secret, that his only great and constant assistant was Mr. *Addison*†.

This

† Mr. *Joseph Addison*, son to *Lancelot* dean of *Lichfield* and rector of *Milston* near *Ambrosebury* in *Wiltshire*, was born at *Milston*, May 1, 1672. He received the first rudiments of his education at *Ambrosebury*, but was soon removed to *Salisbury*, and thence to the *Charter-house* in *London*; whence, when about 15, he was entered of *Queen's College, Oxford*. After he had been there two years, the accidental sight of a paper of verses in the hands of Dr. *Lancaster*, then dean of that house, occasioned his being elected into *Magdalen College*, where he took the degree of master of arts, Feb. 14, 1693. He employed his first years in the study of the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, which had an admirable effect in giving that correct turn to his genius for which he is so eminently distinguished. He gave early proofs of his talent in poetry, by a short copy of verses addressed to Mr. *Dryden*, with a view to his *Translations*; which was quickly followed by a *Version* of the *Fourth Georgic* of *Virgil*. He wrote the *Essay* on the *Georgics*, prefixed to Mr. *Dryden's Translation*. We have several other pieces written by him in his youth, particularly an account of the greatest *English Poets*, addressed to Mr. *Henry* (afterwards the famous Dr.) *Sacheverell*, in 1694, in the strongest terms of friendship; though their intimacy was afterwards quite broken off by a difference in political principles. Nor was he less eminent for the beauty of his *Latin* poems, which were printed in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, and highly applauded by Mr. *Boileau*. Mr. *Addison* was in the 28th year of his age, when his inclination to travel was encouraged by that great patron of letters Sir *John* afterwards lord *Somers*, lord keeper of the great seal, who obtained by his interest from the crown a yearly pension of 300 *l.* to support him in his travels. In 1701, he wrote from *Italy* a Letter to the lord *Halifax*, which is justly esteemed one of the best of his poetical performances. The Account of his Travels, dedicated to lord *Somers*, published in 1705, soon obtained general applause. The materials for his Dialogues on Medals were collected in *Italy*, and he began to cast the book into form at *Vienna* in 1702: but this

This is that excellent friend to whom Mr. *Steele* owes so much, and who refuses to have his name set before

work is posthumous. In 1702, he received advice from his friends, that he was fixed upon to attend the army under prince *Eugene*, who had just begun the war in *Italy*, as secretary from king *William*; but the news of the king's death, which he heard at *Geneva*, put an end to that affair. In 1704, the duke of *Marlborough's* success furnished him with a subject worthy of the genius that appears in his "Campaign." The lord treasurer *Godolphin*, approving the poem, bestowed on him the place of commissioner of appeals, vacant by the death of Mr. *Locke*. In 1705, he attended lord *Halifax* to *Hanover*; and in 1706 was made secretary to Sir *Charles Hedges*, secretary of state; in which employment he acquitted himself so well, that the earl of *Sunderland*, being made secretary of state in *December* of the above-mentioned year, continued him in the same employment under him. The earl of *Wharton* being made lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, Nov. 25, 1708; he appointed Mr. *Addison* secretary for that kingdom, and gave him the office of keeper of the records in *Birmingham's* tower, with a great augmentation of salary. He was in *Ireland* when he first discovered Sir *Richard Steele* to be the Author of the *Tatler*, by an observation upon *Virgil*, which he had communicated to him. His assistance afterwards in the course of that paper was considerable: he had likewise a large share in the *Spectator* and *Guardian*; his papers in the former are marked with the letters of the word *CLIO*. In the year 1713, the situation of affairs rendering the doctrine of liberty very seasonable; to awaken the nation to a sense of it, Mr. *Addison* finished his excellent tragedy of *Cato*, which received universal applause, and was begun long before it appeared on the stage; and he is said to have designed to write a tragedy on the death of *Socrates*. He was representative for *Malmesbury* in the two last parliaments of queen *Anne* *. At the latter end of the queen's reign, when the ministry was changed, and he had no expectation of further employment, he resolved to compose an *English Dictionary*, which he thought was extremely wanting in our language. But

* See a remarkable expression, on the facility with which he carried his election, in the *Journal to Stella*, Oct. 12, 1710.

after

before those pieces which the greatest pens in *England* would be proud to own. Indeed, they would hardly add to this gentleman's reputation, whose works in *Latin* and *English* poetry long since convinced the world that he was the greatest master in *Europe* of those two languages.

after the demise of the queen, that project being laid aside, he was made secretary to the regency, *Aug. 3, 1715*; and soon after one of the lords commissioners of trade. When the rebellion broke out in *Scotland*, he began the Freeholder. *Aug. 2, 1716*, he married *Charlotte* countess dowager of *Warwick*, daughter to Sir *Thomas Middleton* of *Chirk-Castle*; by whom he had one daughter, born *March 30, 1718-19*. He was raised to the post of secretary of state in *April 1717*; but an asthmatic indisposition obliged him to resign it. His freedom from this anxiety so far re-established his health, that his friends began to hope he might live some years; but a long and painful relapse into an asthma and dropsy deprived the world of this eminent man, at *Holland-house*, near *Kensington*, *June 17, 1719*. His public employments hindered him from completing his *Treatise on the Christian Religion*: but his exemplary behaviour in the last moments of his life has been published, very much to the honour of his memory, by the celebrated *Dr. Young*, in his "Conjectures on Original Composition."

"I may recommend *Mr. Addison* and *Mr. Prior*, as perfect patterns of true poetic writing. *Mr. Addison* is more laboured, like his great master *Virgil*; he hath weighed every word; nor is there any expression in all his lines, that can be changed for any juster, or more forcible than itself. *Mr. Prior* enjoys the freest and easiest Muse in the world, and perhaps is the only man who may rival *Horace*, in an admirable felicity of expression, both in the sublime and familiar way. Like our celebrated *Cowley*, he hath excelled in all kinds of poetry. In his works we meet an assembly of the Muses: Since the *Roman Swan* expired, none hath taken bolder and happier flights, or touched the lyre with a more masterly hand; and, since our *Chaucer's* days, none hath told a merry or heroic tale so well." *Felton*.

I am assured from good hands, that all the *Visions*, and other tracts in that way of writing, with a very great number of the most exquisite pieces of wit and raillery throughout the lucubrations, are entirely of this gentleman's composing; which may in some measure account for that different genius which appears in the winter papers from those of the summer. at which time, as the *Examiner* often hinted, this friend of Mr. Steele was in Ireland.

Mr. Steele confesses, in his last volume of the *Tatler*, that he is obliged to Dr. Swift for his *Town Shower*, and the *Description of the Morn*; with some other hints received from him in private conversation.

I have also heard, that several of those letters which came as from unknown hands were written by Mr. Henley^t; which is an answer to your query, who those friends

^t Anthony Henley, esq. (son of Sir Robert, of *The Grange*) was bred at *Oxford*; where he distinguished himself by an early taste for polite learning, and an intimate acquaintance with the ancient poets; which naturally exciting a congenial spirit, he became no inconsiderable writer. Possessed of an ample fortune, and in high favour at the court of king William, he lived in the greatest familiarity with those of the first rank for quality and wit; but seems at that time to have avoided interfering in politicks. The Muses and Pleasure had engaged him. He had something of the character of *Tibullus*, and, except his extravagance, possessed all his other qualities; his indolence, his gallantry, his wit, his humanity, his generosity, his learning, his share of letters. There were few authors who did not taste of his bounty. Many of them inscribed their works to Mr. Henley; but none with so much delicacy and justice as his friend Dr. Garth, in dedicating to him *The Dispensary*. He consented to be chosen a member of parliament in the last of king William; and continued in that assembly till his death. Being on all occasions a zealous asserter of liberty, he was the mover of the address for promoting Mr. Hoadly; and occasionally assisted in some of the Whig publications. The 31st number of *The Medley*, in particular, is by his hand; as are many of *The Tatlers*, particularly in the

friends are whom Mr. Steele speaks of in his last *Tatler*.

But to proceed with my account of our other papers. The expiration of *Bickerstaff's* *Lucubrations* was attended with much the same consequences as the death of *Melibæus's* ox in *Virgil*; as the latter engendered swarms of bees, the former immediately produced whole swarms of little satirical scribblers.

One of these authors called himself *The Growler*, and assured us, that, to make amends for Mr. Steele's silence, he was resolved to *growl* at us weekly, as long as we should think fit to give him any encouragement. Another gentleman, with more modesty, called his paper *The Whisperer*. And a third, to please the ladies, christened his *The Tell-tale*.

At the same time came out several *Tatlers*; each of which, with equal truth and wit assured us, that he was the genuine *Isaac Bickerstaff*^u.

the 5th volume. He affected a low simplicity in his writings, and was remarkably happy in touching the manners and the passions. He wrote several poems for music; and almost finished the opera of *Alexander*, set by *Purcell*: he sung with art, played on several instruments with great judgement; and was a member of the celebrated *Kit Cat* club. He died, much lamented, in *August* 1711.—His second son, *Robert*, was created lord *Henley* baron of *Grange*, *March* 27, 1760; earl of *Northington*, *May* 19, 1764; and had the honour of being appointed lord keeper in 1757, and lord chancellor in 1761. He died *Jan.* 14, 1772.

^u Dr. *Swift*, when he had written his celebrated "Predictions," being at a loss what name to prefix to them, observed a sign over a house where a locksmith dwelt, with *Bickerstaff* written under it; which being a name somewhat uncommon, he chose to call himself by it. It was afterwards adopted by Mr. Steele, and retained by his successor Mr. *Harrison*.—"Upon Steele's leaving-off, there were "two or three *Tatlers* came out; and one of them holds "on still, and to-day it advertized against *Harrison's*; and "so there must be disputes which are genuine, like the "straps for razors." *Journal to Stella, Jan. 13, 1710-11.*

It may be observed, that when the Squire laid down his pen, though he could not but foresee that several scribblers would soon snatch it up, which he might, one would think, easily have prevented, he scorned to take any further care about it, but left the field fairly open to any worthy successor. Immediately some of our Wits were for forming themselves into a club, headed by one Mr. *Harrison*, and trying how they could "shoo in this bow of *Ulysses*;" but soon found that this sort of writing requires so fine and particular a manner of thinking, with so exact a knowledge of the world, as must make them utterly despair of success.

They seemed indeed at first to think, that what was only the garnish of the former *Tatlers* was that which recommended them, and not those *substantial entertainments* which they every where abound in.

Accordingly they were continually talking of their *Maid*, *Night-cap*, *Spectacles*, and *Charles Lillie*. However, there were now and then some faint endeavours at Humour, and sparks of Wit, which the Town, for want of better entertainment, was content to hunt after, through an heap of impertinencies; but even those are at present become wholly invisible, and quite swallowed up in the blaze of the *Spectator*.

You may remember I told you before, that one cause assigned for the laying down the *Tatler* was want of matter; and, indeed, this was the prevailing opinion in town, when we were surprized all at once by a paper called *The Spectator*, which was promised to be continued every day, and was written in so excellent a style, with so nice a judgement, and such a noble profusion of wit and humour, that it was not difficult to determine it could come from no other hands but those which had penned the *Lucubrations*.

This immediately alarmed these gentlemen, who (as it is said Mr. *Steele* phrases it) had the *Censorship* in
com.

commission. They found the new *Spectator* came on like a torrent, and swept away all before him; they despaired ever to equal him in wit, humour, or learning (which had been their true and certain way of opposing him); and therefore rather chose to fall on the author, and to call out for help to all good Christians, by assuring them again and again, that they were the first, original, true, and undisputed *Isaac Bickerstaff*.

Mean while, *The Spectator*, whom we regard as our shelter from that flood of false wit and impertinence which was breaking-in upon us, is in every one's hand, and a constant topick for our morning conversation at tea-tables and coffee-houses. We had at first, indeed, no manner of notion, how a *diurnal paper* could be continued in the spirit and style of our present *Spectators* ^w; but, to our no small surprize, we find them still rising upon us, and can only wonder from whence so prodigious a run of wit and learning can proceed; since some of our best judges seem to think that they have hitherto, in general, out-shone even the Squire's first *Tatlers*. Most people fancy, from their frequency, that they must be composed by a Society: I, with all, assign the first place to Mr. *Steele* and *His Friend*.

I have often thought that the conjunction of those two great genius's (who seem to stand in a class by themselves, so high above all our other wits) resembled that of two famous statesmen in a late reign, whose

^w One of the ablest of our modern writers, who hath himself succeeded very happily in a publication on a similar plan, thus characterizes *The Spectator*: "It comprizes precepts of criticism, fallies of invention, descriptions of life, and lectures of virtue: it employs wit in the cause of truth, and makes elegance subservient to piety: it has now for more than half a century supplied the *English* nation, in a great measure, with principles of speculation, and rules of practice; and given *Addison* a claim to be numbered among the benefactors of mankind."

characters

characters are very well expressed in their two mottoes, viz. *prodesse quam conspici*, and *otium cum dignitate*. Accordingly the first was continually at work behind the curtain, drew up and prepared all those schemes and designs, which the latter still drove on, and stood out exposed to the world, to receive its praises or censures *.

Mean time, all our unbiassed well-wishers to learning are in hopes, that the known temper and prudence of one of these gentlemen will hinder the other from ever lashing out into party, and rendering that wit, which is at present a common good, odious and ungrateful to the better part of the nation.

If this piece of imprudence does not spoil so excellent a paper, I propose to myself the highest satisfaction in reading it with you, over a dish of tea, every morning next winter.

As we have yet had nothing new since *The Spectator*; it only remains for me to assure you, that I am
Westminster, May 3, Yours, &c.

1711.

J. G. y

P. S. Upon a review of my letter, I find I have quite forgotten *The British Apollo* ^z; which might possibly happen from its having of late retreated out of this end of the town into the city; where I am informed, however, that it still recommends itself by deciding wagers cards, and giving good advice to the shop-keepers and their apprentices.

* By the *latter* of these lords, is meant the earl of *Hali-fax*: who is intended by the *former*, is now not very clear.

y It is not improbable that these are the initials of *John Gay*.

z "The *British Apollo*, or Curious Amusements for the Ingenious; to which are added the most material Occurrences foreign and domestick. Performed by a Society of Gentlemen." This paper, which was published twice a week, began *Feb. 13, 1708*; and was continued on that plan till *March 26, 1711*, when three folio volumes were completed: after that time, it got into a fresh channel, and presently sunk into obscurity.

A LEARNED

A
LEARNED COMMENT
UPON

Dr. HARE's EXCELLENT SERMON,

Preached [SEPT 9, 1711,] before the

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

On the Surrender of BOUCHAIN.

BY AN ENEMY TO PEACE.

———*Et multis utile Bellum.*

“ I have got a Sett of *Examiners*; and *five pamphlets*, which I have either written or contributed to, except the best, which is “ The Vindication of the Duke of *Marlborough*,” and is entirely of the Author of the *Atalantis*.”

Journal to *Stella*, Oct. 22, 1711.

“ Comment on *Hare's* ^a Sermon by the same woman; only hints sent to the Printer from *Presso*, to give her.” Ibid. Nov. 3.

^a Dr. *Francis Hare*, bred at *Eaton*, was a fellow of *King's College, Cambridge*, where he had the tuition of the marquis of *Blandford*, only son to the duke of *Marlborough*; who appointed him chaplain general to her majesty's forces in *The Low Countries*. He afterwards obtained first the deanry of *Worcester*, and then that of *St. Paul's*; in 1727 was advanced to the see of *St. Asaph*, and in 1731 translated to *Chichester*; which he held till his death, in 1740. “ He hath written three small pamphlets upon “ *the management of the war, and the treaty of peace*,” says *Swift*, vol. VIII. p. 140. He was the author of “ *The Barrier Treaty Vindicated*,” and of four treatises against “ *The Conduct of the Allies*.” These tracts, after being materially altered and amended by *Maynwaring*, were first published under the inspection of Mr. *Oldmixon*. Dr. *Hare* was also a writer in the *Bangorian* controversy; and drew upon himself the severest of Bishop *Hoadly's* treatises, under the title of “ *The Dean of Worcester still the same*.” His works were collected, in 4 volumes, 8vo, in 1746. In that collection, however, a remarkably flattering letter, which he printed in 1713, called “ *The Clergyman's Letter to Phileleutherus*,” thanking Dr. *Bentley* formally for his “ *Remarks on Free-thinking*,” is omitted. See some curious anecdotes on this head in an improved edition of *Bentley's Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, 1776, p. 448.

A LEARNED COMMENT, &c.

I HAVE been so well entertained by reading Dr. Hare's Sermon, preached before the Duke of Marlborough and the Army, in way of thanksgiving for passing the Lines and taking *Bouchain*, that I cannot forbear giving part of my thoughts thereupon to the publick. If a Colonel had been to preach at the head of his regiment, I believe he would have made just such a Sermon; which before I begin with, I must beg leave to consider the Preface, and that stale topick in the publisher, of "printing a discourse without the Author's leave, by a copy got from a Friend; being himself so modest, that he would by no means hear of printing what was drawn up in so much haste." If the thing be not worth publishing, either the Author is a fool, or his Friend a knave. Besides, the apology seems very needless for one that has so often been complimented upon his productions; of which we have seen several without either *art* or *care*, though published with this famous Doctor's consent. A good argument, indeed, is not the worse for being *without art or care*; but an ill one is nothing without both. If plainness and honesty made amends for every hasty, foolish composition, we should never have an end; and every dunce that blotted paper would have the same plea. But the good Doctor's zeal for the continuation of the war must atone for the rest of his defects. His politicks and his divinity seem to be much of a size; there is no more of the last in his Sermon, than what is to be found in the text; he is so great an enemy to a *partition*, that he scorns to divide even that.

He

He begins, p. 62 ^b, "I cannot but think that one
 " of the properest acknowledgements to God, for the
 " manifest tokens we receive of his good providence,
 " is to consider their natural tendency, and what is
 " the true use which he has put into our power to
 " make of them." May we not very well query
 whether this be sense or truth? The properest acknow-
 ledgements to God, for the manifest tokens, &c. is
 to offer him thanks and praise, and obey his laws.

P. 63. "Persevere bravely in the just and neces-
 " sary war we are engaged in, till we can obtain such
 " a peace as the many successes he has given us na-
 " turally lead to, and, by the continuance of the di-
 " vine favour, must end in, if we be content to wait
 " his leisure, and are not, by our impatience and
 " misgiving fears, wanting to ourselves." At this
 rate, when must we expect a peace? May we not
 justly enquire, whether it be God's or the duke of
Marlborough's leisure he would have us wait? He is
 there in an army well-paid, sees nothing but plenty,
 nay profuseness, in the great officers, and riches in the
 General. Profuseness, when they every day in their
 turns receive the honour of his Grace's company to
 dinner with them. At that sumptuous table which his
 Grace once a week provides for himself and them, the
 good Doctor never considers what we suffer at home;
 or how long we shall be able to find them money to
 support their magnificence. I should think the queen
 and ministry, next under God, the best judges what
 peace we ought to make. If, by *our impatience*, he
 meant the army; it was needless and absurd: if he
 meant our *impatience* here at home; being so far re-
 moved from the scene, and in quite another view, he
 can be no judge of that.

^b The pages of reference are adapted to the Sermon as
 re-printed in the first volume of Bp. Hare's Works.

P. 64. " One would think a people, who, by
 " such a train of wonderful successes, were now
 " brought to the very banks of *Jordan*, could not be
 " so fearful as to stop there, or doubt with themselves
 " whether or no they should try to pass the river
 " [quere, *Senset* or *Scheld*?], and get possession of the
 " land which God had promised them; that they
 " could, with their own eyes, take a view of it [ap-
 " plied to *Picardy*], and behold it was exceeding
 " good, &c." Our case and the *Israelites'* is very dif-
 ferent. What they conquered, they got for them-
 selves; we take a view of the land, as they did, and
behold it to be exceeding good, but good for others. If
Josbua had spent many years in conquering the *Amo-
 rites* (with the loss of infinite blood and treasure), and
 then delivered the land over to the *Gibeonites*, the
Israelites might have had good reason to murmur; and
 that has been our case.

Ibid. " It seems incredible, that men should for
 " many years together struggle with the greatest dif-
 " ficulties, and successfully go through innumerable
 " dangers, in pursuit of a noble end, an end worthy
 " of all the pains and trouble they are at; and yet
 " lose their courage as they gain ground, &c".
 Though this be a fallacy; yet to lose courage as we
 gain ground may very probably happen, if we squan-
 der our courage by the yard, and gain ground by the
 inch.

Ibid. " Of all the virtues human nature would af-
 " pire to, constancy seems to be that it is least made
 " for. A steady pursuit of the same end for any long
 " time together, has something in it that looks like
 " immortality," [hath not this flight something in it
 " that looks like nonsense?] " and seems to be above the
 " reach of mortal man." [How does a steady pur-
 suit look like immortality? If it looks like immortality,
 it certainly seems to be above the reach of mortal man.]
 " The earth we live on, the air we breathe, the
 " nourish-

"nourishment we take, every thing about us, is by nature subject to continual change; our bodies themselves are in a perpetual flux, and not a moment together the same as they were. What place then can there be for a constant, steady principle of action amidst so much inconstancy?" If these reasons were true, it would be impossible not to be inconstant. With this old beaten trash of a *flux*, he might go on a hundred pages on the same subject, without producing any thing new: it is a wonder we had not the grave observation, "That nothing is constant but inconstancy." What does all this end in? His *first beat* and *edge* shews us indeed a *flux* of what we did not expect.

P. 66. "And though the end we aim at be the same it was, and certainly nearer." This puts me in mind of a Divine, who, preaching on the day of judgement, said, "There was one thing he would be bold to affirm, That the day of judgement was nearer now than ever it was since the beginning of the world." So the war is certainly nearer an end to-day than it was yesterday, though it does not end these twenty tyers.

Ibid. "Such fickle, inconstant, irresolute creatures are we in the midst of our bravest resolutions. When we set out, we seem to look at what we are aiming at through that end of the perspective that magnifies the object, and it brings it nearer to us; but, when we are got some way, before we are aware we turn the glass, and, looking through the little end, what we are pursuing seems to be at a vast distance, and dwindled almost into nothing." This is strange reasoning. Where does his instrument-maker live? We may have the same *constancy*, the same desire to pursue a thing, and yet not the same abilities. For example, in hunting, many accidents happen; you grow weary, your horse falls lame, or in leaping a hedge throws you: you have the same
reason

reason to pursue the game, but not the same ability.

P. 67. " Their zeal, perhaps, flames at first; but
 " it is the flame of straw, it has not strength to last.—
 " When the multitude once begin to be weary and
 " indifferent, how easily are they then seduced into
 " false measures! how readily do they give into sus-
 " picions against those who would encourage them
 " to persevere, while they are fond of others, who,
 " to serve themselves, fall-in with their complaints,
 " but at the bottom mean nothing but their own in-
 " terest!" How base and false soever this reproach be,
 I have set it almost at length, that I may not be
 charged with unfair quotation. By the company the
 Doctor keeps, and the *patrons* he has chosen, I should
 think him an undoubted judge when people mean their
own interest—but that I know, conversing only on one
 side generally gives our thoughts the same turn; just
 as the jaundice makes those that have it think all things
 yellow. This writer is prejudiced, and looks upon the
 rest of the world to be as self-interested as those per-
 sons from whom he has taken his observation. But,
 if he means the present ministry, it is certain they
 could find their own interest in continuing the war as
 well as other people: their capacities are not less, nor
 their fortunes so great, neither need they be at a loss
 how to follow in a path so well beaten. Were they
 thus inclined, the way is open before them; the means
 that enriched their predecessors, gave them power,
 and made them almost necessary evils to the state, are
 now no longer a secret. Did their successors study
 their own interest with the same zeal as they do that
 of the publick, we should not have the Doctor in these
 agonies for fear of a peace; things would be then as
 he would have them; it would be no longer a *flame*
of straw, but a solid fire, likely to last as long as his
 poor countrymen had any materials to feed it. But
 I wonder he would talk of those who mean their own
 SUPPL. I. [XXV.] K *interest,*

interest, in such an audience, especially before those "who fall-in with their complaints," unless he had given it quite another turn, and bestowed some of his eloquence in shewing, what he really thinks, that nothing in *nature* is *so eligible* as self-interest, though purchased at the price of a lasting war, the blood and treasure of his fellow-subjects, and the weal of his native country.

P. 68. "This is a misfortune, which free assemblies, and popular or mixt governments, are almost unavoidably exposed to; and it is for this reason, so few nations have ever steadily pursued for any long time the measures at first resolved on, were they never so right and just; and it is for the same reason that a *single power* seldom fails at long-run to be too hard for a *confederacy*." A very good argument for this war; a good overture and warning, to make a General for life! It is an excellent panegyrick upon arbitrary power; at this rate, the *French* king is sure to get the better at last. This Preacher must certainly be an admirable judge of *popular assemblies*, by living in an army. Such poor writers get a rote and common-place of talking by reading pamphlets, and from thence presume to make general observations upon government, and set up for statesmen. If the duke of *Marlborough* ^c be *Moses*, what *promised land* is he

^c *John Churchill*, eldest son of *Winston Churchill* of *Wootton-Basset* in the county of *Wilts*, was born *June 24*, 1650. The duke of *York* obtained for him an ensigncy in the guards so early as 1666; and a company of grenadiers under the duke of *Monmouth* in 1672, at the siege of *Maestricht*. On his return, he was appointed a lieutenant colonel, a gentleman of the bed chamber and master of the robes to the duke of *York*. Attending the duke into *Scotland*, he had a regiment of dragoons; and was created baron of *Aymouth* in that kingdom, *Dec. 1*, 1682. King *James*, on his accession, appointed him gentleman of the bed-chamber,

he bringing us to, unless this Sermon be preached only to the *Dutch*? He may have *promised* them *land*,
and

chamber, captain of a troop of his life-guard; and created him baron *Churchill* of *Sandridge*, May 14, 1685. At the Revolution, he was continued gentleman of the bedchamber; sworn of the privy-council, Feb. 6, 1688-9; created earl of *Marlborough*, April 9, 1689; was commander of the *English* forces that year in *Flanders*, and in 1690 had the same employment in *Ireland*. He was, notwithstanding, dismissed from the king's service, and even committed to *The Tower*, on suspicion of a plot. On the death of queen *Mary*, he was recalled to the privy-council; and appointed, June 19, 1698, governor to the duke of *Gloucester*, with this extraordinary compliment from the king, "My lord, make him but what you are; and my nephew will be all I wish to see him." He was three times one of the lords justices in the king's absence; and, in 1701, commander in chief of the *English* forces in *Holland*, and ambassador extraordinary to The States General. King *William* having warmly recommended him to the princess *Anne*, he was, about a week after her majesty's accession, elected knight of the Garter; and soon after appointed captain-general of all the forces, and ambassador to *The States*. In 1702, he commanded the army in *Flanders*; and, at his return, was created, Dec. 22, marquis of *Blandford* and duke of *Marlborough*. In 1704, in consequence of the memorable victory at *Hochsted*, he was appointed a prince of the empire; and had *Mildenheim* assigned for his principality, Nov. 12, 1705. On the 19th of *January*, 1710-11, finding the queen's prepossession against his duchess could not be overcome, he carried a surrender of all her places to her majesty; and was himself dismissed, Dec. 30, 1711. Upon the earl of *Godolphin's* death, resolving to quit this kingdom, he embarked at *Dover*, Nov. 14, 1712; and the duchess followed him in the beginning of *February*. On the accession of king *George I*, he returned to *London*, Aug. 4, 1714; and was again, Sept. 24, appointed captain general of the land forces, master general of the ordnance, and colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards. He died at *Windsor Lodge*, June 16, 1722, in the 72d year of his

and they him something else: and both been as good as their words. In his allegory of the people brought out

age, and was buried with great solemnity in *Westminster Abbey*.—He married *Sarah*, daughter of *Richard Jennings* of *Sandridge, Herts*, esq. by whom he had issue one son, *John*, who died at *Cambridge*, Feb. 6, 1702-3; and four daughters, viz. the lady *Henrietta*, married to *Francis* lord *Rialton*, afterward earl of *Godolphin*; the lady *Anne*, married to *Charles* earl of *Sunderland*; the lady *Elizabeth*, married to *Scroope* earl of *Bridge-water*; and the lady *Mary*, married to *John* marquis of *Monthermer*, afterward duke of *Montague*. He was succeeded in all his honours (except the baronage of *Aymouth*, which became extinct by his dying without issue male) by his eldest daughter the countess of *Godolphin*; on whose death, in 1733, they descended to *Charles Spencer*, the fifth earl of *Sunderland*, eldest surviving son of *Anne*, the second daughter. His *Grace's* character, which is given by *Dr. Swift*, vol. XV. p. 49, hath been thus more completely exhibited by *Mr. Macpherson*:

“ There is a peculiarity in his character, that scarce admits of that happy medium which lies between the opposite limits of detraction and admiration. Though he was born with very considerable talents, he was far from possessing those extensive abilities which are deemed, perhaps very erroneously, essential to men who acquire the first fame in war. Neglected in his education when young, his mind was not imbued with the least tincture of letters. He could not even spell his native language. He neither spoke with ease, nor attempted at all to write, in any foreign tongue. This unhappy defect may, in a certain degree, form an excuse for some parts of his conduct, which might otherwise appear profligate. Excluded from every knowledge of the virtues of former times, he fell in with the vices of his own. He judged, perhaps, of human nature, from the unprincipled manners of the court in which he was bred; and the selfishness that has contributed to stain his name, found an excuse in the profligacy of other men. There is, however, great reason to believe that *Marlborough* improved

out of *Egypt*, does the Doctor mean our army? The parallel must then be drawn to make the war last forty

“ proved considerably on the vicious example of several of
 “ his contemporaries. If his virtues were neither many
 “ nor striking, he supplied the defects of his mind with
 “ the decency of his outward carriage and the dexterity of
 “ his conduct.—He possessed a solid understanding, a de-
 “ gree of natural elocution, an irresistible manner, an ad-
 “ dress which rendered mankind pleased with themselves.
 “ If not modest by nature, he assumed its appearance with
 “ ease and dignity. He reconciled mankind to his fame,
 “ by affecting to be indifferent about applause; and, by
 “ coming upon men in general through their vanity, they
 “ were willing to give back the praise which he so li-
 “ berally bestowed. Though he was perfectly master of
 “ his temper, and able to govern or effectually to disguise
 “ his passions, he threw a pleasing kind of vehemence into
 “ his conversation, that gave it the appearance of sincer-
 “ ity. The great vice of his mind, and perhaps the root
 “ of all the manifest defects of his character, was an un-
 “ governable love of wealth. This passion, deemed in-
 “ consistent with any greatness of soul, betrayed him into
 “ meannesses, that raised a contempt, which could scarcely
 “ be obliterated from the minds of men by the uncommon
 “ splendour of his actions in the field. Though, per-
 “ haps, never man was more hated; he owed more to
 “ Favouritism than to Fortune. The affection of king
 “ *James* had first made him an object of attention to his
 “ country. The supposed attachment of queen *Anne* to
 “ himself and his family procured for him that influence
 “ in *Europe*, which was the great foundation of his suc-
 “ cess. The malevolence that persecuted *Marlborough*
 “ through his actions in civil life, pursued the most
 “ splendid of his operations in the field. No modern
 “ General obtained greater victories; yet his conduct has
 “ been much less praised than his good-fortune. Some
 “ affirmed, that he was not fond of exposing his own
 “ person in action. Others said, that his apparent per-
 “ turbation of spirits, in the hour of battle, was as little

forty years, or else it can be no parallel : we may easily see how near the comparison grows. *Moses* was accused

“ consistent with his usual carriage as it was with true
 “ courage. But neither of these charges seems to be well
 “ founded. An uninterrupted series of success, through
 “ a course of many years, cannot justly be ascribed to chance
 “ alone ; and personal courage can never be denied, with
 “ justice, to a man who has been accused by his enemies
 “ to have delighted in war. In his political capacity the
 “ duke was certainly timid. His misfortunes proceed
 “ from that very defect of his character. In his principles
 “ (for, notwithstanding what his enemies affirm, he
 “ had some) he was certainly a high Tory. He possessed
 “ a subserviency of manner, a habit inseparable from men
 “ bred in courts, that suited the most extravagant pretensions
 “ of royalty. To this circumstance, more perhaps
 “ than gratitude, ought to be ascribed his manifest
 “ attachment to the excluded branch of the family of
 “ *Stuart*. To a sincerity in this respect was owing, in
 “ fact, his continual professions to the court of *St. Ger-*
 “ *main's*. They were, in themselves, neither an object
 “ of hope or of fear ; and therefore they were little calculated
 “ to gratify either ambition or avarice. He was
 “ distrusted by them, perhaps, more than he deserved.
 “ Had he been possessed of a daring boldness, suitable to
 “ his great influence, fame, and power, he might probably
 “ have placed the pretender on the throne. All his
 “ passions, at length, were either subdued or extinguished
 “ by the love of money ; and to that unhappy circumstance
 “ must be ascribed the ruin of his reputation. Upon
 “ the whole, if *Marlborough* is less to be admired than
 “ some other distinguished statesmen and generals, it is,
 “ perhaps, because his secret intrigues and actions are
 “ better known. The fate of his reputation, after his fall,
 “ may be considered as a kind of proof that too much was
 “ known, even **THEN**, of his private conduct. The news
 “ of his dismissal was received like a common occurrence.
 “ No tumults, no clamours, excepting the complaints of the
 “ writers of some pamphlets, succeeded that
 “ event.

cused by certain *Israelites*; "Is it a small thing," say they, "that thou hast brought us out of a land " that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the " wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a " prince over us^d?" Hath the duke of *Marlborough* been suspected of any such design? *Moses* was *wroth*, and said unto the Lord, "Respect not thou their " offering: I have not taken one ass from them, " neither have I hurt one of them^e." And to the same purpose *Samuel*, "Whose ox have I taken? or " whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded?

" event. The greatest subject in *Europe* sunk into a private " station, without the sound of his fall being heard. His " consequence with his own party vanished with his commission. His own usual good-temper forsook him with " his good-fortune. He became querulous, wrathful, " violent, revengeful. From directing the affairs of *Europe*, " *rope*, he sunk into an inferior tool of faction. The pre- " eminence, which he possessed when in office, ceased when " he became a private man. His wealth, his former reputation, his splendid actions, only contributed, by their " contrast, to render his present condition more abject. " The vulgar, though sometimes more generous than their " superiors, instead of applauding his conduct, persecuted " him with insults; and he had the mortification to see " the prince of *Savoy*, the only rival of his military fame, " received with the loudest acclamations of joy. It must, " however, be confessed, that the arts of his enemies fomented the prejudices of the vulgar. The best writers " had been gained to the side of the ministry. Pamphlet " followed pamphlet, and essay was succeeded by essay. " Besides, the duke himself was conquered in his own " mind. Instead of that dignified coolness that was " deemed a part of his character, he was found unable to " bear a reverse of fortune. He discovered, upon every " occasion, an impatience, and a resentment, more apt " to amuse than to terrify his political enemies."

^d *Numb.* xvi. 13.

^e *Ver.* 15.

“whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes with? and “I will restore it you^f!” Does the *British Moses* speak thus to the people? is there any sort of agreement between them? Nor are we sure of God’s commands to go up against the *Amorites*, p. 69, as the *Israelites* were; and we have fifty times more reason to murmur. They were carried from the wilderness, “into a land flowing with milk and honey;” we from such a land into the wilderness, that is poverty and misery, and are like to be kept in the wilderness till this generation and the next too are consumed, by mortgages, anticipations, &c.

P. 71. Where the Doctor says, “the country itself was much too narrow for them;” he must certainly mean the *Dutch*, who never think their frontiers can be too much extended.

The Doctor tells us, p. 72, “The justice and necessity of our cause is little short of the force of a command.” Did God command to fight, because the Chaplain-general will have no peace? He asks, “what is bidding us go on, if our successes are not?” At this rate, whenever any new success is gained, or a town taken, no peace must be made. The whole exhortation against peace, which follows, is very proper for the Chaplain of an Army; it looks like another Essay of the *Management of the War*. “These successes have generally been so much wanted, and so little expected.” If we have been ten years at this vast expence getting successes that we could not expect, we were mad to begin this war, which hath ruined us with all this success. But why this acclamation? is taking one small town such great success as points out to us the *finger of God*? Who is his God? I believe the General has no little share in his thoughts, as well as the present Ministry, though upon a

^f 1 Sam. xxi. 3.

quite different consideration. "The clouds have never
 " this war thickened more or looked blacker than
 " this year: things looked so black on every side, as
 " not to leave us the faintest glimpse of light. We
 " apprehended nothing less than the dissolution of the
 " alliance." Whatever the Doctor may be for a
 Preacher, he has proved but an indifferent Prophet.
 The General and Army may be obliged to him for
 the dissipation of these clouds, though the Ministry
 are not. Were they the cause that such clouds ga-
 thered, "as made him fear an universal storm, which
 " could no way be fenced against?" To hear him run
 on in praise of the wonders of this campaign, one
 would scarce believe he were speaking to those very
 persons who had formerly gained such memorable vic-
 tories, and taken towns of so much greater impor-
 tance than *Bouchain*. Had the *French* no Lines be-
 fore? I thought *Mons*, *Lisle*, &c. had been once
 esteemed considerable places. But this is his youngest
 child: he does like most mothers, when they are past
 the hopes of more; they doat upon the youngest,
 though not so healthy nor praise-worthy as the rest of
 the brethren. Is it our fault, that "three of the
 "princes in alliance with us resolve to recall their
 "troops?" p. 76. We brought our *quota's*, if our
 allies did not. By whose indulgence was it, that some
 of them have not been pressed more closely upon that
 head, or rather have been left to do as they please?
 It is no matter how hard a bargain people pretend
 to make, if they are not tied to the performance.

P. 75. If "the enemy are stronger than they
 "were," how are we so near our great hopes, the
promised land? The affectation of eloquence, which
 carries the Doctor away by a tide of words, makes
 him contradict himself, and betray his own argument.
 Yet, by all those expressions, we can only find, that
 whatever success we have must be *miraculous*; he
 says, p. 75, "we must trust to miracles for our suc-
 cesses,"

"cess," which, as I take it, is to tempt God: though p. 77, he thinks, the most fearful cannot doubt of "God's continuance." We have had *miraculous success* these nine years, by his own account; and this year, he owns, "we should have been all undone, "without a new miracle; black clouds, &c. hanging "over our heads." And why may not our sins provoke God to forsake us, and bring the *black clouds* again? greater sins than our *inconstancy*! avarice, ambition, disloyalty, corruption, pride, drunkenness, gaming, profaneness, blasphemy, ignorance, and all other immoralities and irreligion! These are certainly much greater sins; and, whether found in a court or in a camp, much likelier to provoke God's anger, than *inconstancy*.

Ibid. "If we have not patience to wait till he has "finished, by gradual steps, this great work, in such "a manner as he in his infinite wisdom shall think fit." I desire the Doctor would explain himself upon the business of *gradual steps*; whether three-and-twenty years longer will do, or what time he thinks the General and himself may live; I suppose, he does not desire his *gradual steps* should exceed *their* date, as fond as he seems of miracles. I believe he is willing enough they should be confined to his Grace's life and his own.

What does he mean, p. 78, by "the natural and "moral consequences that must lead us?" If those moral consequences are consequences upon our morals, they are very small. "Whatever reason there can be "for putting an end to the war but a good one, was "a stronger reason against beginning it." Right! so far we allow. "And yet those very reasons, that "make us in so much haste to end it, shew the necessity there was for entering into it." I am in mighty hope to get out of a squabble, and therefore I had reason to get into it; generally the contrary is true. "What condition should we have now been
"in,

"in, had we tamely let that prodigious power settle
 "and confirm itself without dispute?" It could never
 settle and confirm itself but by a war.

P. 79. "Did we not go into the war in hopes of
 "success? The greatest argument for going on with
 "the war is that we may have more success." According to the doctrine laid down by our Author, we must never be inclined to peace till we lose a battle: every victory ought to be a motive to continue the war. Upon this principle, I suppose, a peace was refused after the battle of *Ramillics*.

Ibid. "How can we doubt that we shall not still
 "succeed, or that an enemy that grows every day
 "weaker and weaker, &c." The Doctor's zeal over-
 bears his memory: just now the enemy was stronger
 than ever.

P. 80. "If we consider that our strength is from
 "God, &c. Though all men ought to trust in
 God; yet, our Saviour tells us, we ought to regard
 human means: and in the point before us, we are
 told, "That a king going forth to war against ano-
 "ther king, sitteth down first, and consulteth whe-
 "ther he be able with ten thousand to meet him
 "that cometh against him with twenty thousand;
 "or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he
 "sendeth an embassy, and desireth conditions of
 "peace &c." Our Saviour was a preacher of peace;
 "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto
 "you^h, &c." But the Doctor chuseth rather to
 drive-on furiously with *Jebu*. He answers to the
 question, "Is it peace?" as that king did to the
 horsemen, "What hast thou to do with peace?
 "Get thee behind me." He saith, "Our ingrati-
 "tude and impenitence may defeat the surest prof-
 "pects we have." May we not ask him, whose in-
 gratitude? As to impenitence, I think this paragraph is

^g *Luke* xiv. 31, 32.

^h *John* xiv. 27.

the only one wherein he vouchsafes, and that but very slightly, in his whole Sermon, to remind the people of *repentance* and *amendment*; but leaves "a subject so little suited to a day of joy," p. 81, to encourage them to "go on to obtain the end towards which they have made so many happy steps." We differ about that end; some desire peace, others war, that so they may get money and power. It is the interest of some to be in action, others to be at rest: some people clap their finger upon one point, and say *that* alone can be a good peace; we say there may be many sorts of good peace, of all which we esteem the queen and ministry to be the best judges. The Doctor tells us, "Our sins may force us to put an ill end to the war." He should explain what he calls an *ill* end; I am apt to think, he will think nothing good that puts an end to it, since he saith, "Vengeance may affect not only us, but generations yet unborn." That they have taken care of already. We have pretty well mortgaged posterity, by the expences of this devouring war: and must we never see an end to it, till there is not an enemy left to contend with? for so our Author would intimate. In what a condition must we expect to be, long before that? It is very happy for the nation, that we do not lie at the mercy of this gentleman; that his voice is not necessary towards the great end we pant after, the unloading of our burthen, and the mitigation of our taxes. A just and necessary war is an ostentatious theme, and may bear being declaimed-on. Let us have war; what have we to do with peace? We have beaten our enemy; let us beat him again. God has given us success, he encourages us to go on. Have we not won battles and towns, passed the lines, and taken the great *Bouchain*? what avails our miseries at home; a little paultry wealth, the decay of trade, increase of taxes, dearness of necessaries, expence of blood, and lives of our countrymen? are there not foreigners to supply their places?
have

have not the loss of so many brave soldiers been offered to the legislature as a reason for calling in such numbers of poor *Palatines*ⁱ, as it were to fill up the chafin of war, and atone for desolation amongst our subjects? If we continue thus prodigal of our blood and treasure, in a few years we shall have as little of the one as the other left; and our women, if they intend to multiply, must be reduced, like the *Amazons*, to go out of the land, or take them husbands at home of those wretched strangers whom our piety and charity relieved. Of the natives there will be scarce a remnant preserved; and thus the *British* name may be endangered once more to be lost in the *German*.

Were it not for fear of offending the worthy Doctor, I should be tempted to compare his Sermon with one that some time since made so much noise in the world^k; but I am withheld by the consideration of its being so universally condemned, nay prosecuted, on one side. Perhaps the Chaplain-general will not like the parallel: there may be found the same heat, the same innuendo's, upon different subjects, though the occasion be not so pressing. What necessity was there of preaching-up war to an army, who daily enrich themselves by the continuation of it? Does he not think, loyalty and obedience would have been a properer subject? To have exhorted them to a perseverance in their duty to the queen, to prepare and soften their minds, that they may receive with resignation, if not applause, whatever her majesty shall think fit to transact. The Doctor, without suspicion of flattery, might very well have extolled their great actions, and congratulated

ⁱ The pernicious consequence of calling in these foreigners is described by Dr. *Swift*, in *The Examiner*, N^o 40 and 44. "The public" (he says) "was a loser by every individual among them," vol XV. p. 182.—Several pamphlets were published by both parties on that subject.

^k The well-known Sermon of Dr. *Sacheverell*.

with them upon the peace we are likely to enjoy; by which they will be at leisure to reap the harvest of their blood and toil, take their rest at home, and be relieved from the burthen and danger of a cruel war. And as our gratitude will be ever due to them, for delivering us from our distant enemy the *French*; so shall we have reason to bless whoever are the authors of peace to these distressed nations, by which we may be freed from those nearer and much more formidable enemies, discontent and poverty at home.

A NEW
VINDICATION
OF THE
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH^a;
IN ANSWER TO
A PAMPHLET lately published,
CALLED
BOUCHAIN; or, a Dialogue between
The MEDLEY and the EXAMINER.

First printed in 1711.

^a This produced "The Duke of *Marlborough's* Vindication, in Answer to a Pamphlet falsely so called. 1712."

"The Vindication of the Duke of *Marlborough*"
is entirely of the Author of the *Atalantis* ^a.

Journal to *Stella*, Oct. 22, and Nov. 3, 1711.

^a Mrs. *Manley*, daughter of Sir *Roger Manley*, a zealous Royalist, was early in life cheated into marriage with a near relation, of her own name, who had at the same time a former wife living. Deserted by her husband, she was patronized by the duchess of *Cleveland*, a mistress of *Charles II*; but the duchess, being of a fickle temper, grew tired of Mrs. *Manley* in six months, and discharged her on pretence that she intrigued with her son. Retiring into solitude, she wrote her first tragedy, "The Royal Mischief." This play being acted at the Theatre Royal in 1696 with great success; she received unbounded incense from the witty and the gay. In the same year, she also produced a comedy intitled, "The Lost Lover, or Jealous Husband," which was performed without any success. Her third Dramatic piece was "*Almyna*, or The Arabian Vow, a Tragedy, acted in the H. M. 1707." In her retired hours she wrote "The *Atalantis*;" for which, she having made free in it with several distinguished characters, her printer was apprehended by a warrant from the secretary's office. Mrs. *Manley*, unwilling an innocent person should suffer, presented herself before the court of queen's bench as the author. Lord *Sunderland*, then secretary of state, being curious to know from whom she got information of several particulars which were supposed above her own intelligence; she replied, with great humility, "that she had no design in writing, further than her own amusement and diversion in the country, without intending particular reflections and characters: and did assure them that nobody was concerned with her." When this was not believed, and the contrary urged against her by several circumstances; she said, "then it must be by inspiration; because, knowing her own innocence, she could account for it no other way." Whether those in power were ashamed to bring a woman to trial for a few amorous trifles, or whether the laws did not actually reach her; she was discharged after several public examinations. On the change of the ministry, she lived in reputation and gaiety. A second edition of a volume of her Letters was published in 1713. "*Lucius*," a well-received tragedy, was written by her, and acted in

T H E

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S VINDICATION.

I WAS always satisfied of the stupidity and dissimilarity of the Author who called himself "The Medley;" but never till now so thoroughly convinced of his assurance. He (or one who personates him) appears, in a little book called *Bouchain*," as if he were in close conference and great intimacy with the *Examiner*; where, according to the unfair manner of modern Dialogue, he reserves all the wit and reasoning for himself, and makes the poor *Examiner* one of the silliest, dullest rogues, that ever pretended to speak or hear of politicks: nay, he has even treated him worse than the real *Medley* did; who, though hired by the party to call him names by the week, had still so much modesty as not to take away his understanding, though he did his integrity. But here he is made just

1717. It was dedicated to Sir Richard Steele, whom she had abused in her "Atalantis," but who was then on such friendly terms with her, that he wrote the prologue to this play, as Mr. Prior did the epilogue. While she was employed in defence of the ministry, she connected herself with Mr. Barber the printer; and in his house she died, July 11, 1724. Some account of her life has been published by herself, under the title of "Memoirs of Rivella."

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as stupid as was necessary to introduce all the fine things that are thought fit to be said of this campaign; and is directed to ask those questions, which none that reads and lives in any part of *England* can be supposed to be ignorant of, on purpose to heighten the glory of the General, and abuse the capacities of the present Ministry. This method of his seems to be copied from that great genius and champion of their cause, the *Observer*; and our *Examiner* acts the part of his countryman *Roger*: how agreeably to the spirit and sense of the *Examiner*, may be easily judged from his writings, which have met with general approbation for their wit and learning.

But, leaving the falseness and improbability of the diction, I shall only consider the malice and design of this *boutefeu*, that would set the people on flame, and advance the General to a height where none had ever been hoisted before, only for the bare consequences that attend his being at the head of an army so often victorious, so well paid and encouraged, with no enemies in view but those whom it was familiar to them to overcome, and who, though superior in number (as indeed they were), yet are wholly dispirited by continued losses, and at present restrained by the positive commands of their monarch; who has given it in charge to Monsieur *Villars*, not to venture the army but upon manifest advantages; so that nothing might be left to Fortune, which had appeared so contrary to them of late, and seems to have so great a hand in the rise and fall of empires, and that period which is set to human glory.

This new *Medley* would bespeak our compassion for his Hero, by telling of "the hard usage he has met with, and the sufficient reason he has had to be disgusted; his scandalous manner of treatment from the *Examiner* and his party; for," he says, "he is sensible the usage he gave him was not wholly from himself." And again, "That the duke of

" *Marl.*

“ *Marlborough* is divested of all interest and authority, both at home and in the army; whom so much pains have been taken to mortify, that he might either in discontent throw up his command, or continue in it without honour; whom we laboured to make the mark of public hatred; as if it were impossible for liberty and gratitude to consist together, and men were to be ill used for no other reason but because they could not be used so well as they deserve.” And further, “ Your friends may use the duke of *Marlborough* as ill as they please: but let them be assured, in the end, this will certainly turn upon themselves; and the time will come, when it will be as safe to speak truth of the present ministry, as it is now to bely the old! and then, my friend, you may hear further from me.” Who, after this, would not conclude the duke of *Marlborough* had been turned out of all, his estate confiscated, and himself under the most rigid sentence? Nothing less should have provoked this audacious person to have taken such liberty of speech, and been guilty of such threatenings against the persons the queen is pleased to honour and trust. Yet, that we may examine things more coolly than this incendiary; what hardships has this great man to complain of? I believe we shall scarcely find any precedent among the *Romans*, that their generals abroad ever thought themselves disobliged, upon the removal of a quæstor at home, or the changing one secretary for another; and yet this is the height of that discontent they so much complain against. The queen, who seems directed by Heaven, as a reward for her piety, in the choice of her ministers and officers, did herself set the duke of *Marlborough* at the head of her army: she knew his long experience in military affairs; that he had run through all the several degrees of service, and either had a genius for war, or nothing. No man ever entered upon his command with greater en-

couragement; the love and smiles of his sovereign, the good wishes of the people, and if not the personal love of the soldiers, yet the hatred they had for the enemy, and their sufferings during the late peace, gave them a double edge to war, and made them gain such glorious victories, which all must own were got by the bravery of the *English*. Their personal valour proved of use, when neither genius in the General nor extraordinary conduct was required; though none will dispute his excelling in either; it has chanced that our greatest victories have been obtained more by the courage of the soldiers than the *finesse* of the commander; yet he has reaped all the advantage. Is he not the richest and greatest subject in Christendom? Has there not been a more than ordinary application, since the troops under his command first took the field, to supply them with every thing that was necessary? Whoever of her Majesty's subjects were left unpaid, care was taken that money should not be wanting for the war in *Flanders*. Even upon the change of ministry, it was almost the first act of power in the *new*, to borrow money to send to the army under the duke of *Marlborough's* command. He was so far from being "divested of all authority both at home and abroad," that there was not any change in what related to his grace's family, save the *golden key*^b; which, after long waiting, was thought necessary to be bestowed upon a person who would not think herself grown too great for the indispensable attendance of the place. The queen, nay the new ministers, used his grace with the same goodness and confidence, in relation to his charge, as the former did. What occasion was there for dis-

^b The duchess of *Marlborough* was groom of the stole, first lady of the bed-chamber, lady of the wardrobe, and had the privy purse. The latter office was given to Mrs. *Masbam*; the others to the duchess of *Somerſet*.

content? did he ask any favour, and was refused it? had not her majesty forgiven, nay forgotten, that supreme mark of arrogance in the duke of *Marlborough*, when he durst shew himself disobliged at her giving away one regiment, without first obtaining his leave as general^c? was there any remembrance, but in his own thoughts, of all that had been done by his party, to perpetuate his command? If he was really disgusted, because one of his sons-in-law^d, and the father of another^e were removed; how ungrateful and undutiful was

^c The regiment commanded by *Algernon Capel*, the 23d earl of *Effex*, becoming vacant on his being appointed constable of *The Tower*, June 26, 1707; the queen intended to bestow it upon Mr. *Hill*. She signified her pleasure to the duke of *Marlborough*; who refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country. After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person. (See vol. XV. p. 9.)—On the death of the earl of *Effex*, in January 1708-9; the command of *The Tower* was bestowed on earl *Rivers*, by a contrivance between the Queen and Mr. *Harley*, in opposition to the wishes of the duke of *Marlborough*, who intended that office for the duke of *Northumberland*.

^d *Charles Spencer*, earl of *Sunderland*; who succeeded to that title, Sept. 21, 1702, on the death of his father *Robert*. He was made secretary of state, Dec. 3, 1706; and dismissed June 14, 1710. He had a pension of 1200*l.* per ann. settled on him, Sept. 1, 1716; was again appointed secretary of state, April 16, 1717; lord president of the council, March 16, 1717-18; groom of the stole, Feb. 6, 1718-19; and died April 19, 1722. He married lady *Anne Churchill*, second daughter of *John* duke of *Marlborough*; to whose titles her eldest surviving son *Charles* succeeded in 1733. See the Dean's character of the earl of *Sunderland*, vol. XV. p. 53.—“He is endued with a great deal of virtue.” *Macky*.—“No.” *SWIFF*, MS.

^e *Sidney Godolphin*, esq. a younger brother of an ancient family in *Cornwall*, was a commissioner of the treasury in 1671; made secretary of state, April 7, 1684; placed at the head of the treasury, Aug. 25; and created baron *Godolphin* of *Rialton*, Sept. 8. On the accession of king

was that behaviour to the person that had so wonderfully raised him; to a sovereign, who had honoured him

James, he was constituted lord chamberlain to the queen, continued a commissioner of the treasury, and was much favoured by the king, who appointed him a commissioner to treat with the prince of *Orange*; on whose advancement to the throne, he was still continued a commissioner of the treasury, and was four times one of the lords justices in that reign. He was appointed lord treasurer by queen *Anne*, May 12, 1702; elected knight of the Garter, July 6, 1704; created viscount *Rialton* and earl of *Godolphin*, Dec. 5, 1706; dismissed from all employments, August 8, 1710; and died Sept. 15, 1712.—His only son *Francis* lord *Rialton* married lady *Henrietta Churchill*, eldest daughter of *John* duke of *Marlborough*; who succeeded to her father's high titles, June 16, 1722, and died in 1733.—*Dr. Swift* has given his lordship's character, vol. XV. p. 51; which may be compared with the following more recent delineation of *Mr. Macpherson*: “Had his
“ secret designs and intrigues remained unknown to the
“ world, the earl of *Godolphin* might have been trans-
“ mitted to posterity with an unblemished character. He
“ was born with extensive talents. A long experience had,
“ in a particular manner, qualified him for the great line
“ of business. He understood the interests of the king-
“ dom, the genius of the people, the secret views of par-
“ ticular men, as well as the disposition of parties. In
“ his public capacity, he was frugal of the money of the
“ nation, without cramping its exertions with penury. An
“ œconomist of his private fortune; without the least
“ tincture of avarice. Though forbidding in his address,
“ through the stern gravity of an habitual silence and an
“ ungraceful manner, he gained mankind by the apparent
“ sincerity of his character. He never kept suitors in an
“ unprofitable suspense. He promised nothing that he
“ was not resolved to perform. He considered dissimula-
“ tion as an unmanly breach on veracity. He refused
“ with frankness, where he could not serve with gene-
“ rosity. In the common line of business, he shewed
“ such undeviating attention to justice, that those who
“ were disappointed by his decisions could not withhold

him with such superlative marks of her favour? It is possible he might only *seem* discontented, to please his family, though, it has been shewn, without reason; to which they interpreted his going to *Blenheim* just before the queen's birth-day, from whence he returned the

"their esteem from his impartial conduct. Though he
 "found it necessary to disguise his own principles, he never
 "affected to possess those of others, to gain either their
 "support or their favour. Political timidity was the
 "greatest defect of his mind. That passion overcame
 "frequently, in his public transactions, the sincerity
 "which he uniformly observed in his private conduct.
 "The weakness which induced him to adhere, in his
 "opinion, to the excluded branch of the house of *Stuart*,
 "was a kind of virtue. He was first placed in the line
 "of fortune and ambition by that family; and their con-
 "fidence in his fidelity and attachment contributed to con-
 "tinue that gratitude which he owed for their many and
 "great favours."

Bp. Burnet says of lord *Godolphin*, "He was the silentest
 "and modestest man that was, perhaps, ever bred in a
 "court.—He was a man of the clearest head, the
 "calmest temper, and the most incorrupt of all the mi-
 "nisters of state, I have ever known. After having been
 "thirty years in the treasury, and during nine of those
 "lord treasurer, as he was never once suspected of cor-
 "ruption, or suffering his servants to grow rich under
 "him, so in all that time his estate was not increased
 "by him to the value of 4000l." *History of his own Times*,
 vol. IV. p. 384.—Lord *Godolphin*, notwithstanding he
 possessed abilities of the first rate as a Statesman, was re-
 markably attached to Horse-racing. To this part of his
 character Mr. *Pope* alludes, in the following lines of his
Moral Essays, Ep. i. 81.

"Who would not praise PATRICIO's high desert,
 "His hand unstain'd, his uncorrupted heart,
 "His comprehensive head! all int'rests weigh'd,
 "All *Europe* sav'd, yet *Britain* not betray'd?
 "He thanks you not; his pride is in piquette,
 "Newmarket-fame, and judgement at a bett."

day after; as if he purposely chose to omit paying his duty and respects upon so remarkable an occasion.

But what *mortifications*, what *hardships*, are these which our author complains of? Was his commission limited? had he not power to advance or retreat? was he forbidden to besiege or fight? was he commanded to take no steps but what were directed from above? wherein was he *divested of his authority*? when was this barbarous usage? was there any person hired to assassinate his fame, or take away his life? what conspiracy, what confederacy, to make criminals accuse him? did any of his enemies tamper with *Monsieur De Guiscard*, and offer him his life, pardon, and money, to lay his villainy upon the duke? Had the persons here in power a mind that his designs this campaign should miscarry, how easy would it have been for them to have effectually disappointed them, and without being discovered! An artful hand can make more wonderful, though concealed, movements. But, instead of such usage, has he not been supplied with all possible vigour? was not a young General sent off^f, that the duke of *Marlborough* might have no occasion of discontent, nor appearance for complaint? were not his soldiers, flushed with many victories, eager and impatient to be led on to more? did he not very well know, as I have said before, that *Monsieur Villars* durst not fight him, though he had greater numbers than the Duke, since the king had forbidden his venturing his army without evident advantages? are not the *French* dispirited and over-awed by the superior genius of the *English*, by whom they have been so often vanquished? is it then such a wonder, after all the glorious victories the duke of *Marlborough* has obtained, that, with the same fortune, the same cause, the same army, and against the same enemy, his grace has added one inferior fortress to his greater conquests? are *The Senfet* and *The Schelde* more

^f The duke of *Ormond*.—See above, p. 20.

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formidable rivers than *The Danube* or *The Rhine*? are only *passing* the Lines near *Bouchain* more wonderful than beating the *French* in their Lines near *Brabant*? or have our former campaigns been so barren of great actions, that we need so much cry up the passing of two rivers and one morass, where none durst oppose them; as if the General's glory were never consummate till now; or as if indeed he could have done less, except he had been resolved to do nothing, which could scarce have been, with an army so full of ardour to fight? These flights of joy, upon so small an occasion, seem to me just as reasonable, as if some great conqueror should land in *England*, beat all our armies, and take *London* in one campaign; and yet reserve his triumphs and the peoples acclamations for the next, only upon the taking of *Iffington*.

Whether this action, in respect to those the duke of *Marlborough* hath performed before, deserves to be valued to that height our author carries it, may be gathered from what Sir *W. Temple* says, in his *Memoirs*, p. 189. "In *May* 1676, the king of *France* "sent the duke of *Orleans* to besiege *Bouchain*, with "some part of his troops, being a small though "strong place, considerable for its situation to the "defence of *The Spanish Netherlands*. The king, "with the strength of his army, posted himself so "advantageously, as to hinder the prince of *Orange* "from being able to relieve it, or to fight without "disadvantage. The armies continued some days "facing one another, and several times drawing out "in order to battle, which neither of them thought "fit to begin. *Bouchain* was surrendered the eighth "day of the siege." Behold the same circumstance, attended with the same conquest, differing only in the number of days, in which the disadvantage lies, by many, on his grace's side!

I can never believe the duke of *Marlborough* will think himself obliged to the author of this paper,
for

for representing him as “ a mortified person, and one
 “ divested of all authority both at home and abroad;”
 no more than I do imagine that his grace can in his
 own nature be undutiful to that power that has raised
 him; however accidentally he might once be wanting
 in that respect he owed the queen, in the business of
 the regiment belonging to the late earl of *Essex* §.
 Nor, when I remember how much he did formerly
 for conscience-sake, and the interest of the church of
England, can I persuade myself he will now engage
 against it. How seasonably did he decline king *James*’s
 service, when the Papists and Dissenters were united
 in interests to destroy the church; king *James*, to
 whom the duke of *Marlborough* was engaged by the
 highest gratitude! He had saved his life in *The Glou-*
cester frigate, and honoured his grace’s family so far
 as to mingle his own royal blood with it. Did not
 the duke of *Marlborough* forego the interests of his
 sister and her children, his nephews and nieces, that
 he was so fond of before, for the good of his country,
 and the security of the Protestant religion? was he
 not contriving to deliver up the king to the prince of
Orange, if the design had not been prevented ^h?
 and did he not withdraw himself from his benefactor,
 to serve against him under his greatest enemy; pro-
 testing, in his letter to the king, “ that his desertion
 “ from his majesty proceeded from no other cause,
 “ than

§ See above, p. 149.

^h “ The night before he left *London*, a conspiracy was
 “ formed by some of his chief officers, to seize his person,
 “ and to deliver him into the hands of the prince of
 “ *Orange*. The earl of *Rocheſter*, the lord *Churchill*,
 “ the bishop of *London* [Dr. *Henry Compton*], Sir *George*
 “ *Herwit*, with several others, met at Mr. *Hatton Compton*’s
 “ lodgings in *St. Alban’s Street*. After a long debate,
 “ concerning the means of serving to the best purpose the
 “ prince

“ than the inviolable dictates of conscience, and a
 “ high and necessary concern for his religion, with
 “ which he was instructed that nothing could come
 “ in competition?” Did the duke do all this for
 the church of *England*; and will our author, or any
 of the Whiggish side, persuade us he can so far re-
 cede

“ prince of *Orange*, it was at length resolved, that *Ro-*
 “ *chester* should attend the king to *Salisbury*, to betray his
 “ counsels to the prince; that *Churchill* should endeavour
 “ to secure the person of *James*, which could best be
 “ done when *Maine* was staff-officer on duty. Should
 “ *Maine* and the guards resist, no safety remained but in
 “ dispatching the king. *Churchill*, but perhaps very un-
 “ justly, is said to have undertaken this barbarous service.
 “ The design of *seizing the king* is ascertained from va-
 “ rious quarters; but an intention to stab or pistol him, in
 “ case of resistance, is too shocking to merit credit,
 “ without the most positive, clear, and decisive proofs.
 “ The only evidence of the fact is the death-bed confession
 “ of Sir *George Hewitt*; who, after having received emo-
 “ luments and honours from *William*, repented, in his
 “ last moments, of his conduct towards his former
 “ master.—*James*, suspecting *Churchill* and the duke of
 “ *Grafton*, once intended to have sent them, under a
 “ guard, to *Portsmouth*; but he judged that severity, instead
 “ of aiding, would hurt his affairs.” *Macpherson.*

“ His desertion from king *James* might in some
 “ measure be excused, from its utility. But his design of
 “ placing that unfortunate prince a captive in the hands
 “ of his rival is utterly inconsistent with the common
 “ feelings of mankind. With regard to HIM, he was a
 “ benefactor, a friend, and even a father. He raised HIM
 “ from obscurity to independence, to fortune, and to
 “ honour. He placed HIM in that only state, that could
 “ render his desertion destructive to his own affairs. If
 “ his misconduct had rendered *James* unworthy of the
 “ returns of gratitude due to other men, why was king
 “ *William* also deceived? If no measures were to be kept
 “ with either of these monarchs, why was *England* be-
 “ trayed

cede from his former principles, to take party against that very church he has helped to preserve? to join in opposition to her, with her bitterest foes, when he is already as great and rich as a subject ought to be?

“trayed to her mortal enemy? Though these questions “can scarcely be answered to satisfaction, they admit of “alleviations. In the characters of mankind, some allowances must be made for their passions and frailties. “The attention to interest, which passed through the “whole conduct of *Marlborough*, might suggest to his “prudence, to quit the fortunes of a man apparently “destined for ruin. His spirit might induce him to oppose king *William*; as the cold reserve, neglect, and “aversion of that prince, might offend his pride. In this “state of mind, his lordship could hardly separate the interest of the kingdom from that of the king: and he “informed the *French* court of the expedition against “*Brest* [in 1694], more with a design of being revenged “on *William*, than with a view to serve *France* at the expense of *England*.” *Macpherson*.—In the duchess of *Marlborough’s* will, we are told, “that the duke (her grace “was sure) left king *James* with great regret, at a time “when it is plain it was with hazard to himself; and if “he had been like the patriots of the present times, he “might have been all that an ambitious man could have “hoped for, by assisting king *James* to settle popery in “*England*.” We have already mentioned, p. 111, that Mr. *Mallet* was to have written the duke’s history. It was intended by the duchess to have been performed jointly by Mr. *Glover* and Mr. *Mallet*, under the immediate inspection of lord *Chesterfield*: but Mr. *Glover* resigned the undertaking; and although it is probable that his colleague had the papers directed by the duchess delivered to him, and it is certain was several years employed about the work, which, he informed the duke of *Marlborough* in a Dedication to his Poems, 1762, was so far executed, that he hoped soon to present it to him; yet it is said, at the time of Mr. *Mallet’s* death, April 21, 1765, he had made but small progress in it. See Dr. *Maty’s* Memoirs of lord *Chesterfield*, Sect. IV.—The duchess died Sept. 18, 1744, in her 85th year.

No! no! Such restless spirits as this writer, who, in the words of Mr. *Dryden**, “fire that world” “which they were sent by preaching to warm;” those “*Phætons* of mankind” abuse the reputation

* *John Dryden* was born at *Aldwinckle*, in *Northamptonshire*, Aug. 9, 1621; was educated at *Westminster*, under Dr. *Busby*; and from thence elected, in 1650, to *Trinity College, Cambridge*. In 1668, he was appointed historiographer and poet laureat; which places he lost at the Revolution, 1688: but his generous patron the earl of *Dorset*, out of his private estate, made up to him the loss of his pension. He married the lady *Elizabeth Howard*, daughter to the earl of *Berkshire*; and died May 1, 1701. That he was at times distressed, appears from what *Swift* says of his *Prefaces*, vol. VII. p. 217. After having lived in exigency, he had a magnificent funeral bestowed on him by the contribution of several persons of quality. In one of the three prints prefixed to his “*Virgil*,” 8vo, Mr. *Dryden* is represented in a long and large wig. It was from his wearing such a wig that the Dean compares him to a lady in a lobster, vol. I. p. 156. That so excellent a writer as Mr. *Dryden*, and one so nearly related to the author, should be treated by him in the severe manner we frequently observe in the Dean’s works, must be a matter of surprize to the Reader. At this distance of time, it may be difficult to assign the reason of it. The only one which has been given seems insufficient to justify the acrimony with which he is mentioned. We are informed that *Dryden* once expressed a great deal of contempt for a pretty large collection of Poems, written by the Author in his youth, of that irregular species called Pindariques, and of which there are specimens in the 7th volume. These had been shewn to *Dryden* by a Bookseller. They were afterward destroyed; but whether owing to the opinion then given of them, or whether the Author was convinced of their want of merit, we are not told. See *Swift’s Essay*, p. 124.

of the greatest persons, and do themselves honour at the expence of others, who, being equally ignorant of many things, yet pretend to determine of all the affairs of war and the cabinet; to enflame the people, abuse the ministry, and the queen through them; to trouble the waters, in hopes *crowns* and *mitres* may be found floating on the surface, and ready to fall to the share of the boldest hand.

We shall next consider the "scandalous manner of treatment" the duke of *Marlborough*, as this writer tells us, "has met with from the *Examiner* and his party;" for, he is sensible, the usage he gave him was "not wholly from himself." How can he be sensible of that? For to this day it does not appear who the *Examiner* is, nor that he had instructions to talk of *Craffus*, *Catiline*, or *Anthony*. That pen still remains concealed; neither rewards nor presents have been given to any, that we can suppose was author of those papers. Whoever he were, he has had the modesty not to reveal himself, though his remarks were only against those persons whom the queen had thought fit to dispense with from farther serving her; the General excepted, as this writer would have us believe: but he is the *satirist*, who makes the application. Cannot a person treat of the excessive avarice and fordid behaviour of *Marcus Craffus*, but, because the duke of *Marlborough* is known to be an extreme good husband of his money, he must needs intend his grace as a parallel? Indeed! Does this libeler think there is so near a resemblance between them? Why, where then is the injustice? To shew that there has been any, let him convince us that his grace is become generous, or less in love with riches; and the comparison will cease. But till then, though he were the conqueror of *Europe*, instead of *Flanders*, the people will be apt to detest a vice they are sure to suffer

suffer by; regarding it as a counterpoize to the bravest actions, or indeed the only motive to the performance of them: and where interest is suspected to be the spur to glory, the reputation will always be less clear and shining. As to the comparison with *Catiline*, I find not the least ground for it; nor can it be so intended, though the old *Medley*, with his unfair quotation, has charged it upon the *Examiner*. The passage is in the Fourth *Examiner*¹, to which I refer the Reader, which can never, I hope, be applicable to *England*; for, how ambitious soever a General may prove, a brave, true *English* army cannot create either fear or danger of their becoming a *mercenary* army. But the author further tells us, "the *Examiner* was "pleased to make the civil comparison of the duke "of *Marlborough* and his dutchess, to *Anthony* and "*Fulvia*." What is there said of *Anthony* is so little, that it is scarcely worth any body's taking it to themselves. I am sorry an author cannot introduce a figure, though in poetry, of an haughty, proud, wrathful, and envious woman, but the application must be presently made to his hand: as if there were no vices in history, but what could be paralleled in life! In such a case, I must say, as I did just before in that of *Crassus*, with this addition, that surely there must be some sort of resemblance, or one's very friends would never dare to make the ready comparison!

Behold here, the utmost of that charge this author has drawn up, of what has been done, by way of *mortification*, to the duke of *Marlborough*! Alas! this is but one instance of the liberty of the press; whereas the present ministry may complain of an hundred:

¹ It is in the *forty-ninth* Examiner. This is an additional proof (if it needed any) that Dr. *Swift* wrote as far as N^o 45. Mrs. *Manley* began N^o 46; and calls N^o 49. the *fourth*.

but *their* heads are too strong to be shaken by such impotent blasts, or disordered by every libeler's malice. What clouds of pointless arrows, though sent with a good will, have flown from the *Observer*, the *Review*, and *Medley*! how have great and mean geniuses united, to asperse *their* conduct, and turn the management of the *late* persons in power upon *these*! Humorous, senseless ballads; foolish parallels; the titles of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*^m have been an ample field. Who but must despise such wretched wits? I could quote several others, if it were not reviving them from their obscurity, or rather giving new life to those still-born, shapeless births, which but just appeared and perished. Nor do I remember any person to have so far gloried in those monstrous productions, as to own being a parent to them, but the renowned Dr. *Hare*ⁿ. The close of his Fourth Letter of the "Management of the War" is indeed very extraordinary; where he tells us, "If they should describe the duke of *Marlborough* to be a short, black, fattish, ill-shaped man, that loves to drink hard, never speaks to be understood, is extremely revengeful and ill-bred; if they should represent his mind to be a complication of all ill qualities, &c." Here is more malice, though less wit and truth, than any thing they accuse in the *Examiner*. In times of liberty and faction, we must expect that the best persons will be libeled; the difference lies in the skill of the libeler. One draws near the life; another must write the name under, or else we cannot understand: for, as yet I never met one person, that could find out who Dr. *Hare* designed, by his *short, black, fattish, ill-shaped man*; though he

^m See "The Lives of *Roger Mortimer* and *Robert Harley*, 1711."

ⁿ See above, p. 124.

has so far exceeded the liberty the *Examiner* has taken, as to pretend to paint the very lineaments of the body, as well as those of the mind.

Thus far you see what little reason our author has to complain for *the duke of Marlborough's hard usage*; but he grows bolder, and, in just despair of the continuation of a war from which he reaps so many advantages, attacks what (notwithstanding the many refinements of some late *patriots*) I take still to be an undoubted prerogative of the crown, the power of making peace and war. This author, treating the queen with as little consideration as his *patrons* used to do, does not so much as consult her majesty's wisdom and inclination; but supposes, "no *British* parliament will ever be chosen here, that will ratify an ill peace, or will not crush the bold man who shall propose it." This is like what he says, "That the time will come, when it will be as safe to speak truth of the present ministry, as it is to bely the old." What can one suppose from these threatenings? They are such as in wisdom should never be made, scarcely with an army to back them: did I not know the loyalty of ours, I should fear, from our author's great intelligence, that they were in the secret, to frighten the ministry and parliament from taking into consideration the unanimous wishes and wants of our people, who have sustained so long a war, to the ruin of their trade, and a vast expence of their blood and treasure, upon such disinterested views as sure no people besides ever did. We very well know his reasons, for providing *peace* should not be made without *Spain*^p; yet, when all those kingdoms and dependencies

P "Though *Marlborough* shewed less apathy than was expected from his former character, his enemies furnished him with sufficient reasons for his resentment. The accusation which chiefly ruined his credit with the nation appears now to have been malicious and unjust. He

VOL. I. M " was

cies were united to the Empire, the house of *Austria* was more terrible to *Europe* than the house of *Bourbon* has been since ; and a confederate war was then successfully carried on, as now, to fix the balance of power. Let us but consider what wonderful things this ministry has already done ; let us enter into their character and capacity, their true love of their country, and sincere endeavours for its welfare: and then may our hearts be at rest ; and conclude, that whatever peace they shall think fit to advise, it will be the best that they could obtain, for the safety of the church, the glory of their sovereign, and the ease and happiness of her whole people. Let them that would oppose it consider how many millions this one year's war hath cost us, when all the great actions performed by a great army, with a greater General at their head, hath been only gaining

“ was said to have sacrificed the war in *Spain* to his own operations in *Flanders*, to gratify his ambition, and glut his inordinate avarice. His enemies in parliament, alluding to the strength of the *French* barrier, made use of a vulgar phrase, which made a great impression on a people who were heartily tired of the war. They said, That to endeavour to subdue *France*, by attacking her strong towns on the side of *Flanders*, was taking the bull by the horns ; that, instead of expelling *Philip* the Fifth from *Spain*, the troops and treasure of the confederates were thrown away on unimportant sieges, and attacks upon almost impregnable lines ; that the prince of *Savoy* himself, as he profited, like *Marlborough*, by hostilities in *Flanders*, had contrived to unite with him in influencing, through the pensionary *Heinsius*, the councils of the States ; and that all the three meant nothing, by the undecisive campaigns in *Flanders*, but to protract their own power, which was likely to terminate with the war. There is nothing, however, more certain, than that to push *France* on the side of *Flanders*, was the infallible way of depriving the house of *Bourbon* of the crown of *Spain*.” *Macpherson*.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. 163

one single fortress ; an action so much gloried in, and so far magnified, that we are made to think it is of equal importance to the most fortunate campaign⁴ ! Let us consider how long we may be able to pay such a price for so small a conquest ! I speak only of our money ; having learnt by good example not to value the blood of those poor wretches that are yearly sacrificed in vast numbers, in trenches, and at the foot of walled towns. But say we were even at the gates of *Paris*, nay that *Paris* were ours, what allay would that be to our personal sufferings at home ? Let us look into our *Gazettes*, for the number of bankrupts ; along the streets of our metropolis, and observe but the decay of trade, the several shops shut up, and more in daily apprehension of failing. Let us remove ourselves into the country, and see the penury of country-gentlemen with small estates and numerous families, that pay in such large proportions to the war ; and there let us enquire how acceptable, nay how indispensable, peace is to their further subsisting. True ! there is still a great deal of money in *England* : but in whose hands ? Those who have had the management of such prodigious sums as have been given these last three-and-twenty years, on pretence of carrying on the war. Enquire what sums the late lord treasurer⁵ left the *Exchequer*, and what immense debts in the navy and elsewhere : how the funds were all anticipated or loaded. Observe but what industry hath been used, that the late party should part with none of their vast wealth to assist the present exigency ; and then let us wonder at the wisdom and conduct of that ministry, which has been able to wade through all these difficulties, restore credit, and

⁴ See, in particular, an elaborate account of the whole siege, in a Letter from an Officer of the Confederate Army before *Bouchain* to his Friend at *The Hague*, in *Boyer's* "Political State," for *October*, 1711.

⁵ Lord *Godolphin*. See above, p. 150.

uphold the armies abroad: and can we doubt, after this, of their entering into the true interests of the nation, or dispute the peace they shall think fit to advise the queen to make? How can our malicious author say, "That it will be a severe mortification for so great
 " and successful a general, to see the fruits of victories
 " thrown all away at once, by a shameful and scandalous peace; after a war of nine years, carried on with
 " continued successes, greater than have been known in
 " story? And how grievous must it be to him, to have
 " no footstep remain, except the building at *Woodstock*,
 " of all the great advantages which he has obtained
 " for the queen and the *British* nation, against their
 " dangerous enemy; and consequently of his own
 " extraordinary merit to her majesty and his country?" No! are they about to take the Garter from him? to un-prince, un-duke him? to confiscate all his large possessions, except *Woodstock*? those vast sums in the banks of *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Amsterdam*? his stately moveables, valuable paintings, costly jewels, and, in a word, those immense riches which himself and his lady (as good an accomptant as she is) do not yet know the extent of? Are all these, I say, to be resumed, and nothing remaining but that edifice or memento of a subject's ambition, the stately walls of *Blenheim*, built whilst his gracious benefactress is contented to take up her residence in an old patched-up palace, during the burthen of a heavy war, without once desiring to re-build *Whitehall*, till by the blessing of peace her subjects shall be capacitated to undergo the necessary taxes? I am

* Besides the precarious titles of the two former of these banks, they gave but 3 per cent. interest at that time; when 8, 9, or 10 per cent. was common in *England*. This proves either that the duke was not so extremely good a "husband of his money," as he is above supposed to be, or that he was desirous of securing a fund abroad, in case of an emergency.

ashamed

ashamed to enumerate those obligations the duke has to his queen and country, whilst he has such wretched and ungrateful advocates, who bellow his uneasiness, and exaggerate his *mortifications*. It is the misfortune of the times, that we cannot explain to our own people the occasion we have for a peace, without letting our enemies into our necessities, by which they may rise in their demands. Could there be a poll made, and voices collected from house to house, we should quickly see how unanimous our people are for a peace; those excepted, who either gain by the war, or, concealing their hoards, pay but small proportions towards it; an art well known and practised in this great city, where a person worth many thousands shall get himself rated at but one, two, or three hundred pounds stock; whilst the poor landed man is forced to pay to the extent, because his estate is known, and accordingly valued.

To conclude: I think, in the hands we are in, we need not dispute our safety; and if, as this author would insinuate, even a *separate peace* should be intended by some of our allies, after the example of our wise neighbours the *Dutch* at the treaty of *Nimeguen*, the generality of the people will be easily brought to agree that it is better than no peace at all. They know that our ministry are so well acquainted with the true interest of the nation, and are so tender of its welfare, that they will not consent to take one step in this affair, but what makes for the glory of the queen, and the happiness of her subjects.

A TRUE
RELATION
OF THE SEVERAL
FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES
OF THE INTENDED
RIOT AND TUMULT
On NOVEMBER 17, 1711,
QUEEN ELIZABETH's BIRTH-DAY*:

Gathered from Authentic Accounts;

AND PUBLISHED

For the Information of all true Lovers of our
Constitution in Church and State.

First printed in 1711.

. * *Accession*-day. She was born in *September*.

“ This is Queen *Elizabeth's* birth-day, usually
“ kept in this town by prentices, &c. But the Whigs
“ designed a mighty proceffion by midnight ; and had
“ laid out a thousand pounds, to dress up the Pope,
“ Devil, Cardinals, *Sacheverell*, &c. and carry them
“ with torches about and burn them. They did it by
“ contribution. *Garth* gave five guineas. But they
“ were seized last night by order from the Secretary.”
Journal to Stella, Nov. 17, 1711.

“ I am told, the owners are so impudent that they
“ intend to replevy them by law. I am assured that
“ the figure of the Devil is made as like Lord Treasurer
“ as they could.” *Ibid. Nov. 19.*

“ I saw to-day the Pope, the Devil, and the other
“ figures of Cardinals, &c. fifteen in all, which have
“ made such a noise. I have put an under-strapper
“ upon writing a twopenny pamphlet, to give an ac-
“ count of the whole design.” *Ibid. Nov. 26.*

“ Upon the duke's last return from *Flanders*, he had
fixed his arrival in town (whether by accident or
otherwise) upon the 17th of *November*, called queen
Elizabeth's day, when great numbers of his creatures
and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremo-
ny among the rabble, of burning the pope in effigy ;
for the performance of which with more solemnity,
they had made extraordinary preparations. From
the several circumstances of the expence of this in-
tended pageantry, and of the persons who promoted
it, the court, apprehensive of a design to inflame the
common people, thought fit to order, that the several
figures should be seized as popish trinkets, and
guards were ordered to patrol, for preventing any
tumultuous assemblies. Whether this frolick were
only intended as an affront to the court, or whe-
ther it had a deeper meaning, I must leave unde-
termined.” *History of Four last Years, XV. 79.*

A T R U E
R E L A T I O N, &c.

S I R,

I AM very sorry so troublesome a companion as the gout delays the pleasure I expected by your conversation in town. You desire to know the truth of what you call "a ridiculous story," inserted in "*Dyer's Letter*"^a and "*The Post-boy*"^b, concerning the figures that were seized in *Drury-Lane*, and seemed only designed for the diversion of the mob, to rouse their old antipathy to Popery, and create a new aversion in them to the Pretender. If, indeed, this had been their only intent, your reflections would be reasonable, and your compassion pardonable. It is an odd sort of good-nature, to grieve at the rabble's being disappointed of their sport, or, as you please to term it, of "what would for the time being have certainly made them very happy." But, Sir, you will not fail to change your opinion, when I shall tell you, that there was never a

^a A news-paper of that time, which, according to Mr. *Addison*, was entitled to little credit. Honest *Vellum*, in "*The Drummer*," Act II. Scene I. cannot but believe his master is living (amongst other reasons) "because the news of his death was first published in *Dyer's Letter*." See also *Tatler*, No 18; and *Spectator*, No 457.

^b By *Abel Roper*. See above, p. 48.

blacker

blacker design formed, unless it were blowing up the Parliament-house. No mortal can foresee what might have been the ill effects, if it had once come to execution. We are well assured, that, under pretence of *custom* and *zeal*, and what they call an *innocent diversion*, lurked a dangerous conspiracy: for whoever goes about to disturb the public peace and tranquillity must needs be enemies to the queen and her government.

You have been informed of the surprizing generosity and fit of house-keeping the *German Princess* ^c has been guilty of this summer, at her country-seat, in direct contradiction to her former thrifty management; yet, to do her justice, she is not so parsimonious as her Lord, nor sets half that value upon a guinea: though her dexterity in *getting* be as great as his, he out-does her in *preserving*. She has had a wonderful address in some things; witness the known story of *the diamond* ^d, which

^c The *English General*, the duke of *Marlborough*, was made more haughty than before, by the compliment, *for it was little more*, which was made him by the Emperor, of creating him A PRINCE OF THE EMPIRE, by the title of *Mildenheim*, a little principality in the claim of the House of *Bavaria*, and which that General could not be ignorant (though perhaps the title sent that circumstance from his head) must be rendered again at a peace, whenever it should come to be treated of. *Mefnager*.

^d Though this be now forgotten, Dr. *Swift* has perpetuated another Diamond story to the lady's honour: "Lord Treasurer shewed us a small picture, enameled work, and set in gold, worth about twenty pounds; a picture, I mean, of the queen, which she gave to the duchess of *Marlborough*, set in diamonds. When the duchess was leaving *England*, she took off all the diamonds, and gave the picture to one Mrs *Higgins* (an old intriguing woman, whom every body knows), bidding her make the best of it she could. Lord Treasurer sent to Mrs. *Higgins* for this picture, and gave her one hundred
" pounds

which is as great an instance of good management on her side, as my Lord's making one suit of cloaths serve three sets of buttons can be of his frugality. She seems to have forgotten, or rather out-lived, all the softer passions, those beautiful blemishes for which they are often pitied by our sex, but never really hated. *Wrath*, *ill-nature*, *spleen*, and *revenge*, are those with whom her ladyship has been in league for many months: she has even fallen into the common weakness of unfortunate women, who have recourse to silly fellows called *conjurers*; or perhaps, in imitation of her mother^c, her ladyship wanted a *very witch*; she would give any thing to converse with a *real witch*; at last she took up with a *wizard*, an ignorant creature, who pretends to deal with the stars, and, by corresponding with thief-catchers, helps people to their goods, when they have been stolen. To please her highness, he revived an old cheat, of making an image like the person she most hated; upon which image he would so far work by enchantment, that he it represented, from that moment should grow distempered, and languish out his short life in divers sorts of pains. Since the *wizard* was taken into the lady's pay, a certain great man has happened to be indisposed; by which means she remains

" pounds for it. Was ever such an ungrateful beast as
 " that duchess? or did you ever hear such a story? I sup-
 " pose the Whigs will not believe it. Pray try them.
 " She takes off the diamonds, and gives away the picture
 " to an insignificant woman, as a thing of no consequence;
 " and gives it her to sell, like a piece of old-fashioned
 " plate."

Journal to *Stella*, April 11, 1713.

^c This lady was supposed to be the heroine in the "Story of the St. *Alban's* Ghost," reprinted in the works of Dr. *Wagstaffe*.—If we may credit a story in the *Atalantis*, vol. I. p. 39, Mrs. *Jennings* is supposed to have "known more than the common race of mortals, and to have foretold the surprizing rise of her son-in-law."

very

very well satisfied with the experiment, and imagines this accident to be owing to the force of her enchantment, from which she promises herself still greater events. Though we laugh at the folly, we cannot but remark the malice of the attempt.

On *Friday* the sixteenth of *November*, the heads ^f of the party met at the New Palace, where the late *Viceroy* ^g recounted to them the happy disposition of affairs; and concluded, "That, notwithstanding all their mis-
" fortunes

^f These were, according to the publications of the time, the duke of *Grafton*, the earl of *Godolphin*, Dr. *Garth*, the duke of *Somerset*, the earl of *Sunderland*, lord *Somers*, the earl of *Wharton*, and lord *Halifax*, all members of the famous Kit-Cat Club; to which the duke of *Marlborough* also belonged. See "Political State," *November*, 1711.

^g *Thomas Wharton* lord *Wharton* was appointed by King *William* comptroller of the household, justice in Eyre South of *Trent*, and lord lieutenant of *Oxfordshire*; created viscount *Winchendon* and earl of *Wharton*, Dec. 23, 1706; appointed lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, Nov. 25, 1708; lord privy seal, Sept. 24, 1714; and, Dec. 24, marquis of *Wharton* and *Malsbury* in *England*, and earl of *Rathfarnham* and marquis of *Catherlough*, in *Ireland*. He died April 12, 1715. See his character, vol. XIII. p. 260. XV. p. 22.—"He is one of the completest gentlemen in *England*; hath a very clear understanding, and a manly expression, with abundance of wit." *Macky*.—"The most universal villain * I ever saw." *SWIFT*, MS.—"This nobleman, though possessing distinguished talents, had been uniformly obnoxious to the virtuous of both parties, on account of an abandoned profligacy of principle, which he was at no pains to conceal from the world. In a contempt of all religions, he made an idle parade of infidelity. Impatient of restraint of any kind, he avowed himself the enemy of all government. To be connected with a party was necessary, in a country
" where

* We shall, in another place, endeavour to account for our Author's animosity. See Index, article *Wharton*.

“ fortunes, they had still to-morrow for it.” This person, who has so often boasted himself upon his talent for *mischiefs*, *invention*, *lying*, and making a certain *Lillibullero Song*^h, with which, if you will believe himself, he sung a deluded Prince out of Three Kingdoms, was resolved to try if, by the cry of “ No Peace, “ High Church, Popery, and the Pretender,” he could halloo another in. There were several *figures* dressed up; fifteen of them were found in an empty house in *Drury-Lane*; the *Pope*, the *Pretender*, and the *Devil*, seated under a *state*, whereof the canopy was scarlet stuff trimmed with deep silver fringe; the *Pope* was as fine as a *Pope* need to be the *Devil*; as terrible; the *Pretender* habited in scarlet laced with silver, a full,

“ where preferment was gained, like victories, by the force
 “ of numbers. He adhered, therefore, to the Whigs, as a
 “ line more suitable for the exertion of his talents. In
 “ the management of mobs, in the tumults of elections, in
 “ reconciling the inconsiderate and sanguine to his views
 “ by baits of profligate pleasures, the earl of *Wharton* had
 “ no equal. In his exhibitions in the house of lords, he
 “ possessed a ready, rather than a solid eloquence. His
 “ imagination was quick, his satire poignant, his wit
 “ fertile but coarse. He often spoke what are familiarly
 “ called GOOD THINGS, as he was afraid of saying no-
 “ thing that was bad. Having acquired the reputation of
 “ a wit, he endeavoured to support it on every occasion;
 “ and, with an incontinence suitable to those who grasp
 “ at fame in that way, frequently sacrificed his best friends
 “ to a joke. He was, however, so useful to his party,
 “ that he was encouraged even by the graver heads of the
 “ Whigs; and thus, with talents which could scarce gain
 “ him bread in any other line, he became considerable in
 “ politics. To repair his fortune, which he had squan-
 “ dered, he alledged, in the service of the party, he was
 “ sent to *Ireland*; and if his purpose was not answered, it
 “ was rather for want of time than assiduity.” *Macpherson*.

^h Printed in Dr. *Percy's* “ Reliques of antient Poetry,”
 vol. II. p. 367.

fair,

fair, long perriwig, and a hat and feather. They had all white gloves, not excepting the very *Devils*; which whether quite so proper, I leave to the learned. This *machine* was designed to be borne upon mens shoulders; the long trains dependant from the *figures* were to conceal those that carried them. Six *Devils* were to appear as drawing the chariot, to be followed by four *Cardinals*, in fine proper habits; four *Jesuits*, and four *Franciscan Friars*, each with a pair of white gloves on, a pair of beads, and a flaming, or, if you please, a bloody faulchion in their hands. Pray judge, if such a parade should at any time appear, without the proper disposition of lights, &c. as was here intended; do you not believe it would be a sufficient call to the multitude; and that they would never forsake it till their curiosity had been satisfied to the full? Any man in his senses may find this was a deliberate as well as a great expence. To prepare mens minds for sedition, one *Stoughton's* sermonⁱ (which was burnt by the common hangman in *Ireland*, by order of the house of lords) preached at *St. Patrick's* in *Dublin*, and printed there, was that very week reprinted here, and handed about with extreme diligence: and, to fill the people with false fear and terror, they had some days before reported that the queen was dangerously ill of the gout in her stomach and bowels. The very day of the designed procession, it was whispered upon *The Exchange*, and all over the city, that she was dead. A gentlewoman that makes wax-work declares, "that, some time before, certain persons of quality, as she judged, who called one another Sir *Harry*, Sir *John*, Sir

ⁱ This sermon was first preached at *Christ Church, Dublin*, Jan. 30, 1705-6; and was burnt by the common hangman, Nov. 9, 1711. See Abp. *King's* account of it, vol. XIX. p. 29. 108.—"A bold opinion (says *Swift* on that occasion) is a short, easy way to merit, and very necessary for those who have no other."

"James,

THE INTENDED RIOT, &c. 175

“ *James*, &c. came to her house, and bespoke several
 “ wax-work figures, one for a lady ; they agreed to
 “ her price, paid half in hand, and the rest when
 “ they fetched them away.” These figures are not
 yet taken. One was designed to represent the Lord
 Treasurer, the lady *Masbam*, and the rest the
 other great officers of the court, with *Dr. Sacheverell*,
 which the work-woman was ordered to make as like
 his picture as possibly she could. A certain lady, re-
 nowned for beauty ^k, at the Princess’s palace, desired
 that she might have the dressing-up of the *young, band-
 some statesman* ^l, whose bright parts are so terrible to the
 enemies of his country ; in order to it, she proposed
 borrowing from the Play-house *Æsop’s large white
 horse-hair perriwig*. Her Lord ^m furnished out the rest

^k Lady *Mary Churchill*, youngest daughter of *John* duke
 of *Marlborough*, married to *John* the second duke of *Mon-
 tague* and marquis *Monthermer*. The duchess and her sisters
 lady *Sunderland* and lady *Rialton* seem to have been much
 admired by the Poets. They are all celebrated by *Oldis-
 worth* in “ *The British Court* ;” and, if we may trust to
 their portraits now at *Althorp*, they were indeed uncom-
 monly beautiful.—Archdeacon *Daniel*, in his “ *British
 Warrior*,” written in honour of their noble father, tells us,

“ A bright *Monthermer* claims a *Titian’s* hand,

“ And *Angelo* should paint a *Sunderland*.”

Dr. Swift says, vol. XIV. p. 281.

“ For a middle-aged charmer,

“ *Stella* may vye with your *Monthermer*.”

Lady *Monthermer* is also celebrated in a poem by Mr.
Maynwaring, Works, p. 53.—And Mr. *Chute* published
 “ *Beauty and Virtue*, a Poem, on the Death of the Coun-
 “ tefs of *Sunderland*.”

^l Mr. Secretary *St. John*. See above, p. 13.

^m *John* the second duke of *Montague* succeeded his
 father, *March* 2, 1709-10, in his titles and estate, and also
 in the office of master of the great wardrobe. He was after-
 ward appointed master of the ordnance ; and died *July* 6,
 1749.

of

of the materials from the queen's *wardrobe*. No wonder he should be an enemy to peace, when his father gains so much by the continuance of the war; nor that a certain young duchess was so eager to have him go in disguise with the *Viceroy*, when his absence was convenient!

Further to convince you that this was a premeditated design, and carried on in all its forms, proper persons had been busy before-hand, to secure a thousand mob, to carry lights at this goodly procession. One of these agents came to a victualing-house in *Clare-Market*; he called for drink and the master of the house, of whom he enquired, "if he could procure him forty stout fellows to carry *flambeaux* on *Saturday* the 17th instant, to meet there at one o'clock? They should have a crown apiece in hand; and whatever they drank till five, he would be there to see discharged." At such a proposal, mine host pricked up his ears; and told his Honour, "His Honour need not fear but that he might have as many as his Honour pleased, at that price." Accordingly he fetched-in several from the market, *butchers*, *tripemen*, *poultierers* prentices, who joyfully listed themselves against the day, because it was to be a holiday, and they should not stand in need of their masters leave; for, on "*Queen Bess's* day," they said, "they always went out of course." The landlord promised to make up the complement by the appointed time, with honest lads, who would be glad to get their bellies full of drink, and a crown apiece, in an honest way. All was agreed upon; the gentleman paid the reckoning, which came to a considerable sum in beer and brandy for his mob, and departed with assurances of being there at one o'clock to meet his *Myrmidons*; but the matter being discovered, he has not been heard of since, to the great disappointment of the good man and the people he had engaged. The like was done in several other parts of the town. They had secured

to the number, as I told you, of one thousand persons who were so hired to carry lights, though they knew not to what end, doubtless for a burial, among whom were many of the very foot-guards. Drinking from one to five, it is plain they were to have been made drunk, the better to qualify them for what mischief was designed by their proper leaders. The *Viceroy*, with some others of as good and two or three of better rank than himself, were resolved to act in disguise; the *Viceroy* like a *seaman*, in which he hoped to out do *Massaniello* of *Naples*, whose fame he very much envies for the mighty mischief he occasioned. His busy head was the first inventor of the design; and he would take it very ill if he were robbed of the glory. He had lately proved the power of an *accidental mob*, and therefore hoped much better from a *premeditated one*: he did not doubt inflaming them to his wish by the noise of *Popery* and the *Pretender*, by which they would be put into a humour to burn even *Dr. Sacheverell* and the other *effigies*. At their several bonfires, where the *parade* was to make a stand, the preliminary articles were to be thrown in, with a cry of "No Peace;" and proper messengers were to come galloping, as if like to break their necks, their horses all in a foam, who should cry out, "The Queen, the Queen, was dead at *Hampton-Court*." At the same time the duke of *Marlborough* was to make his entry through *Aldgate*, where he was to be met with the cry of "Victory, *Bouchain*, the "Lines, No Peace, No Peace." If matters had once come to this pass, I do not see what could have hindered the leaders from doing all the mischief they desired, from exalting and pulling down whom they pleased, nor from executing, during the rage of the people, prepossessed, as they would be, with the news of the Queen's death, whatever violence, injustice, and cruelty, they should think fit. They had resolved before, what houses should be burnt. They were to

begin with one in *Essex Street*, where the Commissioners of Accompts meet; from whence a late discovery has been made, of vast sums annually received by a great man, for his permission to serve the army with bread^m. They said, “*Harley* should have better luck than they “ expected, if he escaped *De Witting*”ⁿ; they would set “ people to watch him all that day, that they might “ know where to find him when they had occasion.” And truly who can answer for the consequence of such a tumult, the rage of a mad drunken populace, fomented by such incendiaries (for the whole party, to a man, were engaged to be there)? I do not see how the city could have escaped destruction. There were many to kindle fires, none to put them out. The *Spectator*, who ought to be but a looker-on, was to have been an assistant, that, seeing *London* in a flame, he might have an opportunity to paint after the life, and remark the behaviour of the people in the ruin of their country, so to have made a *diverting Spectator*. But I cannot but look up to God Almighty with praise for our deliverance, and really think we have very much need of a thanksgiving; for, in all probability, the

^m See the particulars of this transaction, vol. XV. p. 138. In the Journals of the house of commons, vol. XVII. p. 15, the report of the commissioners is printed, in which is included the general’s justification of a conduct to which our great Satyrist alluded in the following lines :

“ Triumphant leaders, at an army’s head,
 “ Hemm’d round with glories, pilfer cloth or bread;
 “ As meanly plunder, as they bravely fought;
 “ Now save a kingdom, and now save a groat.”

Moral Essays, Ep. i. in the *old* editions.

ⁿ The pensioner *De Wit* and his brother *Cornelius* were torn to-pieces by an outrageous mob, Aug. 10, 1672. “A “ thousand hands,” says Mr. *Hume*, “ vied with each “ other, who should be first imbrued in their blood.”

mischief

mischiefs had been *universal* and *irremediable*. I tremble to think what lengths they would have gone: I dare not so much as imagine it. They had taken *Maffaniello's* insurrection for a precedent; by which all who were not directly of their own *party* had suffered, as may be gathered from what we know of their nature, and by what is already discovered, though there is doubtless a great deal more behind. As soon as the figures were seized, they dispatched away a messenger express to the place where it was known the duke intended to land, to tell him he might now take his own time; there was no occasion "for his being on the "seventeenth instant, by seven at night, at *Aldgate*;" and so he lay that night five miles short of the town^o.

However the *Viceroy* may value himself upon this design, he seems but to have copied my lord *Shaftes-*

^o The duke was soon after entirely out of favour at court. On *Sunday, December 30*, the Queen in council thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments. It appears by Mr. *Macpherson*, that, "The duke having his "commission under the great seal, the order of the Queen "was not sufficient to dissolve his power. His friends advised him to assemble, by his authority as General, all "the troops in *London*, in the different squares, and to "take possession of *St. James's*, and the person of the "Queen. *Oxford*, apprized of this design, suddenly "called-together the cabinet-council. Though he probably concealed his intelligence to prevent their fears, he "told them of the necessity of superseding *Marlborough* "under the great seal. This business was soon dispatched. "His dismissal, in form, was sent to the duke. The earl "of *Oxford*, no stranger to the character of *Marlborough*, "knew that he would not act against law, by assembling "the troops. The natural diffidence of his disposition "had made him unfit for enterprizes of danger, in a degree "that furnished his enemies with insinuations against his "personal courage."

bury^p in 1679, on the same anniversary^q. It is well known, by the favour of the mob, they hoped then to

^p Sir *Antbony Ashley Cooper*, born about 1615, created baron *Ashley*, *April 20, 1661*. He soon after was chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer; one of the commissioners of the treasury in *May 1667*; created lord *Cooper* and earl of *Shaftesbury*, *April 3, 1672*; and appointed lord chancellor. The seals were taken from him, for his violent opposition to the duke of *York*. He was however appointed president of the council, in *April 1679*; but, continuing his opposition to the duke, was again laid aside in *March, 1679-80*, and became exceedingly popular among the Presbyterians and Republicans. His enemies rendering him suspected of a plot, he retired into *Holland*; where he died, *Jan. 22, 1682-3*.—His great talents, and exact knowledge of men and things, contributed to render him one of the first characters of his age. But the violence of his passions, and the flexibility of his principles, prompted him to act very different and even contrary parts. When we consider him as sitting in the highest tribunal in the kingdom, explaining and correcting the laws, detecting frauds, and exerting all the powers of his eloquence on the side of justice; we admire the able lawyer, the commanding orator, and the upright judge. But when he enters into all the iniquitous measures of the *Cabal*; when he prostitutes his eloquence to enslave his country, and becomes the factious leader and the popular incendiary; we regard him with an equal mixture of horror and regret. His friend Mr. *Locke* tells us, “That the good of his country was what he steered his councils and actions by, through the whole course of his life.” See *Granger*, vol. III. p. 362.

^q See a curious account of it in “*London’s defiance to Rome*, a perfect narrative of the magnificent procession, and solemn burning of the Pope, at *Temple Bar*, *Nov. 17th, 1679*, being the coronation-day of the never-to-be-forgotten princess, queen *Elizabeth*. With a description of the order, rich habits, extraordinary fireworks, songs, and general triumphs, attending that illustrious ceremony, 1679.” Folio.

have

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have made the duke of *Monmouth** King, who was planted at Sir *Thomas Forwyl's* at *Temple Bar*, to wait the event; whilst the rest of the great men of his party were over the way at *Henry the Eighth's* tavern. King *Charles* had been persuaded to come to Sir *Francis Child's*, to see the procession; but before it began, he had private notice given him to retire, for fear of what mischief the *mob* might be wrought up to. He did so; which ruined the design they had, to seize on his person, and proclaim the Duke King. This was the scheme our *modern* politicians went upon. One of them was heard to say, "They must have more diversions than one, *i. e.* burning, for the good people of *London*; since the mob loved to *create*^s, as well as destroy."

By this time, I do not doubt, Sir, but you are thoroughly convinced of the innocence of this intended procession; which they publicly avow, and tell the ministry they are welcome to make what they can of it; knowing themselves safe by having only intended, not acted the *mischief*; if it had once come to *that*, they would have been so far above the fear of punishment for their own crimes, as to become executioners of the innocent.

Truly, I think, the *malice* of that party is immortal, since not to be satiated with twenty-three years plunder, the blood of so many wretches, nor the immense debt with which they have burthened us. Through the unexampled goodness of the Queen, and the lenity of the other parts of the *legislature*, they are suffered to sit down unmolested, to bask and revel in that wealth they have so unjustly acquired: yet they pursue their prin-

* *James Scot*, duke of *Monmouth* and *Buccleugh*, earl of *Doncaster* and *Dalkeith*, baron of *Tindale*, &c. in 1663. He was attainted by act of Parliament; and beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, July 15, 1685.

^s Make a king. MANLEY.

ciples with unwearied industry, club their *wit, money, politicks*, towards restoring their party to that power from whence they are fallen; which since they find so difficult, they take care, by all methods, to disturb and vilify those who are in possession of it. *Peace* is such a bitter pill, they know not how to swallow: to poison the people against it, they try every nail, and have at last hit of one they think will go; and that they drive to the head. They cry, "No peace," till the trade of our own nation be entirely given up to our neighbours. Thus they would carry on the public good of *Europe*, at the expence of our private destruction. They cry, "Our *trade* will be ruined, if the "*Spanish West-Indies* remain to a son of *France*;" though the death of his father may cause *Philip* to forget his birth and country, which he left so young. After the decease of his grandfather, he will be *only* the brother of a haughty rough-natured king, who in all probability may give him many occasions to become every day more and more a *Spaniard*.

They do not allow the *Dauphin's* or the *Emperor's* death to have made an alteration in affairs, and confide all things to the supine temper of the *Austrian* Princes; from whence they conclude, there can be no danger in trusting half *Europe* to the easy unactive hands of such an Emperor. But may not another *Charles* the Fifth arise? another *Philip* the Second? who, though not possessed of the *Austrian* territories, gave more trouble and terror to *England*, than ever she felt from *France*; insomuch as, had not the seas and winds fought our battles, their *invincible armada* had certainly brought upon us slavery and a *Popish* Queen! Neither is it a new thing for Princes to *improve*; as well as *degenerate*. Power generally brings a change of temper. *Philip de Comines* tells us, "That the great duke of *Burgundy*, "in his youth, hated the thoughts of war, and the "fatigue of the field. After he had fought and gained
" one

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“ one battle, he loved nothing else, and could never
“ be easy in peace; but led all his life in war, and at
“ length died in it; for want of other enemies,
“ fighting against the poor barren *Swissers*, who were
“ possessed of nothing worth contending for.”

But it is not *reason*, or even *facts*, that can subdue this *stubborn* party. They bear down all by noise and misrepresentation. They are, but will not seem, convinced; and make it their business to prevent others from being so. If they can but rail and raise a clamour, they hope to be believed, though the miserable effects of their *mal-administration* are ten thousand to one against them: a festering obvious sore, which when it can be healed we know not, though the most famous artists apply their constant skill to endeavour at a cure. Their aversion to any government but their own is unalterable; like some *rivers*, that are said to pass through without mingling with the sea; though, disappearing for a time, they arise the same, and never change their nature. I am,

London, Nov. 24,
1711.

S I R, &c.

THE
NEW WAY
OF
SELLING PLACES
AT COURT:

IN A LETTER
FROM A SMALL COURTIER
TO A GREAT STOCK-JOBBER.

—*Omnia Romæ*
Cum pretio—

First printed in 1712.

“ Did I tell you of a scoundrel about the Court,
“ that sells employments to ignorant people, and
“ cheats them of their money? He lately made a
“ bargain for the Vice-chamberlain’s place, for seven
“ thousand pounds, and had received some guineas
“ earnest; but the whole thing was discovered the
“ other day, and examinations taken of it by lord
“ *Dartmouth*; and I hope he will be fwinged. The
“ Vice-chamberlain told me several particulars of it
“ last night at lord *Masbam*’s.”

Journal to *Stella*, March 24, 1711-12.

A
L E T T E R
T O

A GREAT STOCK-JOBBER.

S I R,

I N that friendly dispute which happened between us some time ago, wherein you endeavoured to prove, that the City politicks out-did those of the Court; I remember, there was nothing upon which you seemed to pride yourself more, than that mystery of your brethren in *Exchange Alley*, which is usually called "Selling the Bear-skin;" whereby a very beneficial trade was daily driven with imaginary Stocks, and many thousands bought and sold, to great advantage, by those who were not worth a groat. This you challenged me to match, with all my knowledge in the lower arts of the court. I confess, you had then the better of the argument: and I was forced to yield, which I would hardly do at present, if the controversy were to be resumed: I could now make you acknowledge, that what you in the City call "Selling the Bear-skin" does not deserve the name, when compared with the dexterity of one of our Artists. I shall leave the decision of this matter to yourself, after you have received the following story, which I shall most faithfully relate.

There

There is a certain petty Retainer to the Court^a, who has no employment at all himself, but is a partner for life to one that has. This gentleman resides constantly with his family among us; where, being wholly at leisure, he is consequently very speculative, perpetually turning his thoughts to improve those happy talents that Nature hath given him. He hath maturely considered with himself the strange opinions that people at distance have of courts. Strangers are apt to think, that whoever hath an apartment in the Royal Palace, can go through the lodgings as if he were at home, and talk familiarly with every one he meets, must needs have at any time a dozen or two of employments in his power; the least word from him to a great man, or, upon extraordinary occasions, to the Queen herself, would certainly do the business! This ignorance hath often been made very good use of by dextrous men among us. Old courtiers will tell you twenty stories of *Killigrew*^b, *Fleetwood Shephard*^c, and others, who would

^a The intention of our Author is in a great measure frustrated by the obscurity of the person held up to censure. This is not the only proof of the necessity there is of being more explicit in such particulars of a relation, as, though universally known at the time, are very soon entirely forgotten.

^b Three brothers of this family, *William*, *Thomas*, and *Henry*, were employed in the court of King *Charles I.* They were all zealous Cavaliers; and were rewarded by *Charles II.* at the Restoration.—*William* was made gentleman usher of the privy chamber, and vice-chamberlain. *Thomas* was a gentleman of the bed chamber, and used frequently to divert his merry master, who on that account was fonder of him than of his best ministers, and would give him access to his presence when he denied it to them. He was appointed in 1651 resident at *Venice*.—*Henry* was created D. D.; made almoner to the duke of *York*, prebendary of *Westminster*, rector of *Wheatamstead*, and

would often sell places that were never in being, and dispose of others a good pennyworth before they were vacant; how the Privy Garden at *Whitehall* was actually sold, and an Artist sent to measure it; how one man was made Curtain-lifter to the King, and another his Majesty's Gold-finder: so that our predecessors must be allowed their due honour. Neither do I at all pretend, that the hero I am now celebrating was the first inventor of that art; wherein it must however be granted, that he hath made most wonderful improvements.

This Gentleman, whom I take leave to call by the name of *Guzman* in imitation of a famous *Spanish* deceiver of that name, having been formerly turned out of one or two employments for no other crime than that of endeavouring to raise their value, has ever since employed his credit and power for the service of others; and, where he could not secure them in reality, has been content to feed their imaginations, which to a great part of mankind is full as well. It is true, he hath done all this with a prudent

and master of *The Savoy*.—All the brothers were dramatic writers. A posthumous volume of poems, by *Anne*, daughter of *Henry Killigrew*, was published in 1686. She was maid of honour to the duchess of *York*, a lady of fine accomplishments, and celebrated by Mr. *Dryden* for her painting and poetry. Her wit was deservedly esteemed; but it received part of its currency from her beauty. She painted landscape, portraits, and history; and died *June 16, 1685*, at the age of 25.

^c Sir *Fleetwood Shephard*, a courtier of the reign of King *Charles II.* and one who had the honour to be on very familiar terms with that gay and easy Monarch. He was also very intimate with the earl of *Dorset*, and the other wits and courtiers of that reign. He was author of many poems, dispersed in several books; but is at present better known as the friend and patron of Mr. *Prior*, who has addressed two humorous epistles to him, than by any writings of his own.

regard

regard to his own interest; yet whoever has trafficked with him cannot but own, that he sells at reasonable rates; and is so modest withal, that he is content the credit of taking your money should rest on the greatest men in *England*, rather than himself. He begged a small employment for one of his customers, from a Lord of the Admiralty; then told his client, "that the great man must have a hundred guineas presented him in a handsome manner." Our Place-jobber brought an old lame horse of his own, and said "the admiral asked an hundred guineas for it:" the other bought the horse, without offering to cheapen him, or look in his mouth.

Two or three such achievements as these gave our adventurer the courage for some time past to deal by the great, and to take all employments at Court into his own hands. And though he and his family are firm adherents to the *honest* party, and furious against the present Ministry (as, I speak it to our honour, no small number of us are); yet in the disposal of places he was very impartial, and gave every one their choice. He had a standing agent, to whom all people applied themselves that wanted any employment, who had them ready of all sizes, to fit whatever customer came, from twenty to a thousand pounds a year.

If the question be asked, why he takes no employment himself? He readily answers, That he might, whenever he pleased, be in the commission of the Customs, the Excise, or of Trade: but does not think it worth his while; because, without stirring from Court, or giving himself any trouble, he can, by his credit, oblige honest gentlemen with employments, and at the same time make better advantage to himself. He hath several ways to establish a reputation of his interest at Court. Sometimes, as I have already observed, he hath actually begged small offices, and disposed of them to his clients. Besides,
by

by living in her Majesty's palace, and being industrious at picking out secrets, he often finds where preferment is likely to go, even before those who are to be preferred can have any notice of it themselves; then he immediately searches out for them, tells them of their merits, asks them how they would like of such an employment; and promises, by his power at Court, to get it for them; but withal gives them a hint, that great men will take money, though they will not be known to do it; that it therefore must be done by a second hand, for which he proffers his service, tells them what sum will be convenient, and then sinks it in his own pocket; besides what is given to him in gratitude for his solicitations and good-will: this gives him credit to pursue his trade of Place-jobbing. Whoever hath a mind for an employment at Court, or any where else, goes to *Guzman's* agent; and he reads over to the candidate a list of places, with their profit and salaries. When one is fixed upon, the agent names the known *Don Guzman* as a person to be depended upon; tells the client, he must send his Honour a hamper of wine; if the place they are in treaty for be considerable, a hoghead. At next meeting, the price is agreed on; but unfortunately this employment is half promised to another: however, he believes that that difficulty may be removed for twenty or thirty guineas; which, being but a trifle, is immediately given. After two or three meetings more, perhaps, the bubble hath access to the *Don* himself; who assumes great airs, says the thing shall be done, he hath already spoken to the Queen or Lord Treasurer. At parting, the agent tells the Officer elect, there is immediate occasion for forty or fifty guineas, to be given among clerks, or servants of some great minister. Thus the poor Place-hunter is drilled on, from one month to another, perpetually squeezed of ready-money, and nothing

done. This trade Don *Guzman* has carried on for many years, and frequently with five or six dupes at a time, and perhaps all of them for one place. I know it will be the wonder of many people, as it hath been mine, how such impostures as these could be so frequently repeated, and how so many disappointed people could be kept from making a noise and clamour that may ruin the trade and credit of this bold Projector; but it is with him as with Almanack-makers, who gain more reputation by one right guess, than they lose by a thousand wrong ones. Besides, I have already observed, that, once or twice in his life, he did actually provide for one or two persons; further, it was his constant rule, whatever employment was given away, to assure his clients that he had the chief hand in disposing of it. When a man had no more to give, or was weary of attending, the excuse was, either he had some private enemies, or the Queen was engaged for that turn, or that he must think of something else: and then it was a new business, required new fees, and new hampers of wine; or, lastly, Don *Guzman* was not to be seen, or talked cold and dry, or in very great haste, and so the matter dwindled to nothing: the poor pretender to an employment discovered the cheat too late, was often ashamed to complain, and was only laughed at when he did.

Having thus described some few of the qualifications which have so much distinguished this worthy *Manager*; I shall crown all with informing you of the particulars of a late achievement, that will give him an everlasting renown. About two months ago, a gentleman of a good fortune had a mind to buy some considerable employment in the Court, and sent a solicitor to negotiate this affair with Don *Guzman's* agent, who, after one or two meetings, told him the Vice-chamberlain's employment was to be disposed of, the person who now enjoyed it being wholly out
of

of favour with the Queen^d; that the choice of his successor was in Don *Guzman's* power; that seven thousand pounds was the price, whereof four thousand was to be given to a lady who was foster-sister to the Queen; two thousand to the present Vice-chamberlain, in consideration of his being turned out; and the remaining thousand to be divided between the great Don and the two small agents: this was the result, after several meetings, after two or three hampers of wine had been sent to *Saint James's*, and some guineas given, to facilitate the putting off a bargain, which, as pretended, was begun for the employment, to another person. This matter went so far, that notes were interchangeably given between the two agents and their principal, as well relating to the thousand pounds which was to be divided among them, as to the main sum. Our Projector was likewise very curious to know, whether the new Vice-chamberlain could speak *French*, which, he said, was absolutely necessary to his office; whether he was well-fashioned, had a genteel manner, and polite conversation; and directed, that the person himself should, upon an appointed day, be seen walking in the garden before *St. James's House*, that the lady, the Queen's foster-sister, might judge of his mien, whether he were a fightly man, and, by his appearance, qualified for so great an employment. To carry the imposture further, one *Sunday*, when, in the lord chamberlain's^e absence,

^d *Thomas Coke* Esq; was at that time Vice-chamberlain.

^e *Charles Talbot*, duke of *Shrewsbury*. This noble peer, descended from the renowned *Talbot* in the reign of *Henry VI*, was brought up in the profession of the *Roman Catholic* Religion; which he renounced at the same time with the duke of *Norfolk*, when the nation was alarmed with *Oates's Plot*. He very early attached himself to the interest of King *William*, with whom he landed

absence, Mr Vice-chamberlain led her Majesty to chapel, Don *Guzman*, being there with his solicitor, said to him, with an expressive sneer, and a sort of rapture, "Ah, Sir, what happiness! I am ravished to think of it. I wish your friend was here now, to see the Vice-chamberlain handing the Queen: I would make him give the other thousand pounds for his employment."

These are the circumstances of this story, as near as I can remember. How the ingenious Don could

in *England*; and by him was appointed, *March* 4, 1693-4, secretary of state; created marquis of *Alton* and duke of *Shrewsbury*, *April* 25, 1694; and was made a knight of the Garter that year. A fall from his horse having rendered him incapable to undergo the fatigues of the secretary's place, he quitted it; and was made lord chamberlain of his Majesty's household, *Oct.* 25, 1699; which he resigned to the earl of *Jersey* in 1700. In *April* 1710, he was again made lord chamberlain; in 1713, was sent ambassador extraordinary to the Court of *France*, on a business which he executed with great speed and success; and in *September*, was made lord lieutenant of *Ireland*. On the dismissal of the earl of *Oxford*, he received the treasurer's staff; which he held, at her Majesty's death, with his offices of lord chamberlain and lord lieutenant of *Ireland*: three places of the highest trust, honour, and profit; never before in the hands of one person. After the accession of *King George*, he was continued lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the treasury was put into commission. His grace died *Feb* 1, 1717-8, without issue by his Lady, *Adelheide*, an *Italian* of the Family of *Paolotti*; by which the titles of duke and marquis became extinct: but that of earl of *Shrewsbury* devolved on *Gilbert Talbot*, a Roman Catholic; who being abroad in holy orders, the honours were enjoyed by his brother *George*, to whom the duke left all his estate free and unencumbered, with this saying, "Though I dislike *George Talbot*, I leave my estate to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*." (See his character by *Charles Howard* of *Greystock* in *Cumberland*, 12mo, 1768, p. 95.)

hath

have got off clean from this business, I cannot possibly imagine: but it unfortunately happened, that he was not put to the trial of shewing his dexterity; for the Vice-chamberlain, by what means I could never yet learn, got a little light into the matter. He was told that somebody had been treating for his place, and had information given him where to find the solicitor of the person who was to succeed him. He immediately sent for the man: who (not conceiving himself to be engaged in a dishonest action, and therefore conscious of no guilt) very freely told him all that he knew; and, as he had good reason, was as angry at the cheat put upon him and his friend, as the Vice-chamberlain himself; whereupon poor Don *Guzman* and his two agents were, at Mr. Vice-chamberlain's request, examined before a Principal Secretary of State, and their examinations taken in writing. But here I must with shame confess, that our Hero's behaviour was much below his character; he shuffled and dodged, denied and affirmed, contradicted himself every moment, owned the fact, yet insisted on his honour and innocence. In short, his whole demeanour was such, that the rawest Stock-jobber in *Exchange Alley* would blush to see it. It is true, he hath since in some manner recovered his reputation; he talks boldly where-ever he comes, as if he were the party injured, and as if he expected satisfaction; and, what is still more heroical, goes on in his old trade of disposing places, though not of such great consideration.

How the affair will end, I cannot tell; the Vice-chamberlain, between generosity and contempt, not being hitherto very forward in carrying it to a formal prosecution; and the rest of the Court contenting themselves, some with laughing, and some in lifting up their eyes with admiration.

However, I think the matter well deserves to be recorded, both for the honour of the *Manager*, and to let you and the world know that great abilities and dexterity are not confined to *Exchange Alley*.

I am SIR,

Yours, &c.

S O M E

SOME
REASONS

TO PROVE,

That no Person is obliged, by his
Principles as a Whig, to oppose her
Majesty, or her present Ministry:

IN A LETTER TO A WHIG LORD.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

A SUPPOSED LETTER
FROM THE PRETENDER TO A WHIG LORD.

Both first printed in 1712.

“ Things are now in the way of being soon in the
“ extremes of well or ill: I hope and believe the
“ first. Lord *Wharton* is gone out of town in a
“ rage; and curses himself and friends for ruining
“ themselves in defending lords *Marlborough* and *Godolphin*, and taking *Nottingham* into their favour.
“ He swears he will meddle no more during this reign;
“ a pretty speech at sixty-six; and the queen is near
“ twenty years younger, and now in very good
“ health! Read *the Letter to a Whig Lord*^a.”

Journal to *Stella*, June 17, 1712.

“ To-day there will be another *Grub*: *A Letter*
“ *from the Pretender to a Whig Lord*. *Grub-street* has
“ but ten days to live; then an act of parliament
“ takes place that ruins it, by taxing every half-sheet
“ at a halfpenny.” Ibid. July 19.

^a Dr. *Birch* tells us, this alludes to the *Letter from the Pretender*, which however is not dated till July 8.—It evidently relates to the *larger Letter*.

A
L E T T E R
T O

A W H I G L O R D^b.

MY LORD,

THE dispute between your lordship and me hath, I think, no manner of relation to what in the common style of these times are called *principles*; wherein both parties seem well enough to agree, if

^b It is not very clear whether this Letter was addressed to any *particular* Lord, or to a *Whig Lord* in general. By what is said p. 207, it seems intended for the earl of *Nottingham*; but there are some other particulars in it which contradict that supposition. If it be really addressed to an individual, it is probably to *Richard Lumley* earl of *Scarborough*, with whom the circumstances of being of a very ancient family, and of not having had any office under the Queen, will agree.—The earl derived his descent from *Liulph*, a person of great eminence in the time of *Edward* the Confessor. The lords *Lumley* had summons to parliament from the time of *Henry VI*, to the beginning of *James* the First's reign, when the title became extinct. It was revived by *Charles II*, in the person of the above noble lord; who was created baron *Lumley*, March 31, 1681; viscount *Lumley*, April 10, 1689; and earl of *Scarborough*, April 15, 1690. He appeared early in arms; had the command of an army sent

if we will but allow their professions. I can truly affirm, that none of the reasonable sober Whigs I have conversed with did ever avow any opinion concerning religion or government which I was not willing to subscribe; so that, according to my judgement, those terms of distinction ought to be dropped, and others introduced in their stead, to denominate men, as they are inclined to *peace* or *war*, to the *last* or the *present Ministry*: for whoever thoroughly considers the matter will find these to be the only differences that divide the nation at present. I am apt to think your lordship would readily allow this, if you were not aware of the consequence I intend to draw: for it is plain, that the making peace and war, as well as the choice of ministers, is wholly in the Crown; and therefore the dispute at present lies altogether between those who would support and those who would violate the Royal Prerogative. This decision may seem perhaps too sudden and severe; but I do not see how it can be contested. Give me leave to ask your lordship, whether you are not resolved to oppose the present Ministry to the utmost? and whether it was not chiefly with this design, that, upon the opening of the present session, you gave your vote against any peace till *Spain* and *The West Indies* were recovered from the *Bourbon* family^c? I am confident by *James II*, to suppress the rebellion in the West; and took the duke of *Monmouth*, the lord *Grey*, and the *German* count, prisoners after the battle of *Sedgemoor*. He afterwards became lieutenant general to King *William*, whom he attended in *Flanders*; was sworn of his privy council, gentleman of the bedchamber, and captain of the first troop of guards; lord-lieutenant of *Durham* and *Northumberland*, &c. He was also of the privy council to Queen *Anne*, but had no employment in that reign. He died *December 17, 1721*.

^c A clause to this purpose was proposed by the earl of *Nottingham*, and seconded by the earl of *Scarborough*, to be added to an address to the Queen, *Dec. 7, 1711*. It was carried by a majority of not above two voices. See vol XV. p. 65.

your

your lordship then believed, what several of your house and party have acknowledged, that the recovery of *Spain* was grown impracticable by several incidents, as well as by our utter inability to continue the war upon the former foot. But you reasoned right, that such a vote, in such a juncture, was the present way of ruining the present Ministry: for, as her Majesty would certainly lay much weight upon a vote of either house, so it was judged that her Ministers would hardly venture to act directly against it; the natural consequence of which must be, a dissolution of the parliament, and a return of all your friends into a full possession of power. This advantage the lords have over the commons, by being a fixed body of men, where a majority is not to be obtained, but by time and mortality, or new creations, or other methods which I will suppose the present age too virtuous to admit. Several noble lords, who joined with you in that vote, were but little inclined to disoblige the court, because it suited ill with their circumstances: but the poor gentlemen were told it was the safest part they could act; for it was boldly alledged, that the Queen herself was at the bottom of this affair^d; and one of your neighbours^e, whom the dread of losing

^d See vol. XV. p. 61.

^e *Charles Seymour*, duke of *Somerset* and baron *Seymour*, also earl of *Hertford* and baron *Trowbridge*, succeeded to those titles in 1678, on the death of his brother *Francis* (who was basely murdered in *Italy*, for which a fleet of ships were sent to demand satisfaction, and several persons were on that account hanged in effigy). He was a lord of the bed-chamber to *James II*; but was dismissed from that office, in *July* 1687, for refusing to assist at the public reception of the pope's nuncio at *Windsor*. He was installed chancellor of *Cambridge*, *May* 30, 1689; made president of the council, *Jan.* 18, 1701-2; and master of the horse, *July* 9, 1702; which latter office he retained long after the general change of the Queen's ministry.

losing a great employment often puts into agonies, was growing fast into a very good courtier, began to cultivate the chief minister, and often expressed his approbation of present proceedings, till that unfortunate day of trial came, when the mighty hopes of a change revived his constancy, and encouraged him to adhere to his old friends. But the event, as your lordship saw, was directly contrary to what your great undertaker had flattered you with. The Queen was so far from approving what you had done, that, to shew she was in earnest, and to remove all future apprehensions from that quarter, she took a resolute necessary step^f, which is like to make her easy for the rest of her reign; and which, I am confident, your lordship would not have been one of those to have put her upon, if you had not been most shamefully misinformed. After this, your party had nothing to do but sit down and murmur at so extraordinary an exertion of the prerogative, and quarrel at a necessity, which their own violence, inflamed by the treachery of others, had created. Now, my lord, if an action so indisputably in her Majesty's power requires any excuse, we have a very good one at hand. We alledge, that the majority you *hardly* acquired with so much art and management, partly made up from a certain *transitory bench*, and partly of those whose nobility began with themselves, was wholly formed during the long power of your friends; so that it became necessary to turn the balance, by new cre-

nistry. He was called by King *George I.* to the same station, *Sept.* 27, 1714; and resigned it, *Oct.* 15, 1715. He died *Dec.* 2, 1748. See his character by the Dean, vol. XV. p. 58.—“He is a lover of musick and poetry; “of good judgement.” *Macky.*—“Not a grain; hardly “common sense.” *SWIFT, MS.*

^f The creation of twelve new peers. See vol. XV. p. 68.

ations;

ations; wherein, however, great care was taken to increase the peerage as little as possible ², and to make a choice against which no objection could be raised, with relation to birth or fortune, or other qualifications requisite for so high an honour.

There is no man hath a greater veneration than I for that noble part of our legislature, whereof your lordship is a member; and I will venture to assert, that, supposing it possible for corruptions to go far in either assembly, yours is less liable to them than a house of commons. A standing senate of persons nobly born, of great patrimonial estates, and of pious learned prelates, is not easily perverted from intending the true interest of their prince and country; whereas we have found, by experience, that a corrupt Ministry, at the head of a monied faction, is able to procure a majority of whom they please, to represent the people. But then, my lord, on the other side, if it hath been so contrived, by time and management, that the majority of a standing senate is made up of those who wilfully or otherwise mistake the public good; the cure, by common remedies, is as slow as the disease: whereas a good Prince, in the hearts of his people, and at the head of a Ministry who leaves them to their own free choice, cannot miss a good assembly of commons. Now, my lord, we do assert that this majority of yours hath been the workmanship of about twenty years: during which time, considering the choice of persons in the several creations; considering the many arts used in making proselytes among the young nobility, who have since grown up; and the wise methods to pre-

² This promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those, on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception. SWIFT.
vent

vent their being tainted by university principles ; lastly, considering the age of those who fill up a certain bench, and with what views their successions have been supplied ; I am surprized to find your majority so bare and weak, that it is not possible for you to keep it much longer, unless old men be immortal : neither perhaps would there be any necessity to wait so long, if *certain methods* were put in practice, which your friends have often tried with success. Your lordship plainly sees by the event, that neither threats nor promises are made use of, where it is pretty well agreed that they would not be ineffectual. Voting against the court, and indeed against the kingdom, in the most important cases, hath not been followed by the loss of places or pensions, unless in very few particulars, where the circumstances have been so extremely aggravating, that to have been passive would have argued the lowest weakness or fear. To instance only in the duke of *Marlborough* ; who, against the wholesome advice of those who consulted his true interest much better than his flatterers, would needs put all upon that desperate issue, of destroying the present Ministry, or falling himself.

I believe, my lord, you are now fully convinced, that the Queen is altogether averse from the thoughts of ever employing your party in her councils or her court. You see a prodigious majority in the house of commons of the same sentiments ; and the only quarrel against the Treasurer is an opinion of more mildness towards your friends than it is thought they deserve ; neither can you hope for better success in the next election, while her Majesty continues her present servants, although the bulk of the people were better disposed to you than it is manifest they are. With all the advantages I lately mentioned, which a house of lords has over the commons, it is agreed
that

that the pulse of the nation is much better felt by the latter than the former, because those represent the whole people; but your lordships (whatever some may pretend) do represent only your own persons. Now, it has been the old complaint of your party, that the body of country gentlemen always leaned too much (since the Revolution) to the Tory-side: and as your numbers were much lessened about two years ago, by a very unpopular quarrel^h, wherein the church
thought

^h The impeachment of Dr. *Sacheverell*.—The history of this man affords a very striking example of the folly and madness of party, which could exalt an obscure individual, possessed of the lowest talents, to an height of popularity that the present times behold with wonder and astonishment. He was the son of *Joshua Sacheverell* of *Marlborough* clerk (whom *Bisset* calls a *Dean*) and received part of his education at that place; whence he was sent to *Magdalen College, Oxford*, where he became demy in 1687, at the age of 15, and afterwards fellow; and became known to Mr. *Addison*, who addressed to him “An Account of the greatest *English* Poets,” dated *Apr. 3, 1694*. A good *Latin* poem, of some length, by Mr. *Sacheverell*, is in the *Oxford* collection, on queen *Mary's* death, 1695; and a translation from *Virgil's* third *Georgic* is in the third volume of *Dryden's* “Miscellany Poems.” He took the degree of M. A. *May 16, 1696*; B. D. *Feb. 4, 1707*; D. D. *July 1, 1708*. His first preferment was *Cannock*, in the county of *Stafford*. He was afterward appointed chaplain of *St. Saviour, Southwark*. While in this station, he preached his famous sermons, at *Derby*, *Aug. 15, 1709*; and at *St. Paul's*, *Nov. 5*, in the same year; and in one of them was supposed to point at lord *Godolphin*, under the name of *Volpone*. It has been suggested, that to this circumstance, as much as to the doctrines contained in his Sermons, he was indebted for his prosecution, and eventually his preferment. Being impeached by the house of commons, his trial began *Feb. 27, 1709-10*; and continued until the 23d of *March*: when he was sentenced to a suspension from preaching for three years, and his two Sermons ordered to be burnt.
This

thought itself deeply concerned; so you daily diminish, by your zeal against peace, which the landed men, half ruined by the war, do so extremely want and desire.

It is probable that some persons may, upon occasion, have endeavoured to bring you over to the present measures. If so, I desire to know whether such persons required of you to change any principles, relating to government either in church or state, in which you have been educated? or did you ever hear that

This ridiculous prosecution overthrew the Ministry, and laid the foundation of his fortune. He very soon after was presented to a living near *Shrewsbury*; and in the same month that his suspension ended, had the valuable rectory of *St. Andrew Holborn* given him by the Queen. At that time his reputation was so high, that he was enabled to sell the first Sermon preached after his sentence expired for the sum of £. 100; and upwards of 40,000 copies, it is said, were soon sold. We find by the Journal to *Stella*, Jan. 22, 1711-12, that he had also interest enough with the Ministry to provide very amply for one of his brothers; yet, as *Dr. Swift* had said before, Aug. 24, 1711, "they hated, and affected to despise him." After the accession of King *George*, we hear little of him except by quarrels with his parishioners, although he was much suspected to be concerned in *Atterbury's Plot*. He died June 5, 1724; and by his will bequeathed to Bishop *Atterbury*, then in exile, who was supposed to have penned his defence for him; the sum of £. 500.—The duchess of *Marlborough* describes him as "an ignorant "impudent incendiary; a man who was the scorn even "of those who made use of him as a tool." *Account*, &c. p. 247.—And Bp. *Burnet* says, "He was a bold insolent "man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, "learning, or good sense; but he resolved to force him- "self into popularity and preferment, by the most petulant "railings at Dissenters and Low-church men, in several "sermons and libels, wrote without either chasteness of "style, or liveliness of expression." *History*, vol. III. p. 277.
such

such a thing was offered to any other of your party? I am sure, neither can be affirmed; and then it is plain, that *principles* are not concerned in the dispute. The two chief, or indeed the only, topics of quarrel are, whether the Queen shall chuse her own servants; and, whether she shall keep her prerogative of making peace? And I believe there is no Whig in *England* that will openly deny her power in either. As to the latter, which is the more avowed, her Majesty has promised that the treaty shall be laid before her parliament; after which, if it be made without their approbation, and proves to be against the interest of the kingdom, the Ministers must answer for it at their extremest peril. What is there in all this that can possibly affect your principles as a Whig? or rather, my lord, are you not, by all sorts of principles lawful to own, obliged to acquiesce and submit to her Majesty upon this article? But I suppose, my lord, you will not make a difficulty of confessing the true genuine cause of animosity to be, that those who are *out of place* would fain be *in*; and that the bulk of your party are the *dupes of half a dozen*, who are impatient at their loss of power. It is true, they would fain infuse into your lordship such strange opinions of the present Ministry and their intentions, as none of themselves at all believe. Has your lordship observed the least step made towards giving any suspicion of a design to alter the succession, to introduce arbitrary power, or to hurt the toleration? unless you will reckon the last to have been damaged by the bill lately obtained against *occasional conformity*, which was your own act and deedⁱ, by a strain of such

ⁱ This bill was brought in Dec. 15, 1711, under a disguised title, by *Daniel Finch*, earl of *Nottingham*.—This noble lord, born about 1647, succeeded his father *Heneage*, Dec. 18, 1682. In 1679, he was constituted first lord com-

such profound policy, and the contrivance of so profound a politician, that I cannot unravel it to the bottom!

Pray, my lord, give yourself leave to consider whence this indefatigable zeal is derived, that makes the heads of your party send you an hundred messages, accost you in all places, and remove heaven and earth to procure your vote upon a pinch, whenever they think it lies in their way to distress the Queen and Ministry^k. Those who have already rendered themselves desperate have no other resource than in an utter change: but this is by no means your lordship's case. While others were at the head of affairs, you served the Queen with no more share in them than what belonged to you as a peer; although perhaps you were inclined to their persons or proceedings, more than to those of the present sett. Those who are now in power cannot justly blame you for doing so: neither can your friends

commissioner of the admiralty, and sworn of the privy council. He was offered the great seals on the accession of King *William*, and declined them; but accepted the office of secretary of state, which he resigned *March* 4, 1693-4. *May* 2, 1702, he was again advanced to that office by Queen *Anne*; and held it till *May* 18, 1704. On the accession of King *George* I, he was one of the lords justices; and *Sept.* 24, 1714, lord president of the council. *Feb.* 29, 1715-16, he retired from all business to a studious life. In 1729, he succeeded to the earldom of *Winchelsea*; and died *Jan.* 29, 1730-31. He was remarkably skilled in the whole system of the *English* law, particularly in the records of parliament. See a slight sketch of his lordship's character, vol. XV. p. 55.—“He hath the exterior air of business; and application enough to make him very capable: in his habit and manners very familiar.” *Macky*.—“He fell-in with the Whigs; was an endless talker.” SWIFT, MS.

^k See vol. XV. p. 63.

out

out of place reproach you, if you go on to serve her Majesty and make her easy in her government, unless they can prove that unlawful or unreasonable things are demanded of you. I cannot see how your conscience or honour are here concerned; or why people who have cast off all hope should desire you to embark with them against your Prince, whom you have never directly offended. It is just as if a man who had committed a murder, and was flying his country, should desire all his friends and acquaintance to bear him company in his flight and banishment. Neither do I see how this will any way answer your interest; for, though it should possibly happen that your friends would be again taken into power, your lordship cannot expect they will admit you to the head of affairs, or even into the *secret*. Every thing of consequence is already bespoken. I can tell you who is to be Treasurer, who Chamberlain, and who to be Secretaries. These offices, and many others, have been some time fixed; and all your lordship can hope for, is only the lieutenancy of a county, or some other honorary employment, or an addition to your title; or, if you were poor, perhaps a pension. And is not the way to any of these as fully open at present? and will you declare you cannot serve your Queen unless you chuse her Ministry? Is this *forsaking your principles*? But that phrase is dropt of late, and they call it *forsaking your friends*. To serve your Queen and country, while any but they are at the helm, is to *forsake your friends*. This is a new party-figure of speech, which I cannot comprehend. I grant, my lord, that this way of reasoning is very just, while it extends no farther than to the several members of their junto's and cabals; and I could point out half a score persons, for each of whom I should have the utmost contempt if I saw them making any overtures to be received into trust. Wise men will never be

persuaded that such violent turns can proceed from virtue or conviction; and I believe you and your friends do in your own thoughts most heartily despise *that ignominious example of apostacy*¹, whom you outwardly so much caress. But you, my lord, who have shared no farther in the favour and confidence of your leaders than barely to be lifted of the party, cannot honourably refuse serving her Majesty, and contributing what is in your power to make her government easy, though her weighty affairs be not trusted to the hands where you would be glad to see them. One advantage your lordship may count upon by acting with the present Ministry is, that you shall not undergo a state inquisition into your principles; but may believe as you please in those points of government wherein so many writers perplex the world with their explanations. Provided you heartily renounce the pretender, you may suppose what you please of his birth; and, if you allow her Majesty's undoubted right, you may call it *hereditary* or *parliamentary*, as you think fit^m. The Ministers will second your utmost zeal for securing the indulgence to Protestant Dissenters. They abhor arbitrary power as much as you. In short, there is no opinion properly belonging to you as a Whig, wherein you may not still continue, and yet deserve the favour and countenance of the Court; provided you offer nothing in violation of the royal prerogative, nor take the advantage in critical junctures to

¹ If the earl of *Nottingham* is here meant (see vol. XIV. p. 119.) it will amount to a proof that this letter was designed for another peer.

^m Our Author's sentiments on *hereditary right*, as exhibited in the 15th *Examiner*, and in vol. III. p. 94, are not easily reconcileable to a laboured tract on that subject, ascribed to him in 1775, under the title of "A discourse on Hereditary Right; written in the year 1712, by a celebrated Clergyman."

bring

bring difficulties upon the administration, with no other view but that of putting the Queen under the necessity of changing it. But your own party, my lord, whenever they return into play, will not receive you upon such easy terms, although they will have much more need of your assistance: they will vary their political catechism as often as they please; and you must answer directly to every article, as it serves the present turn. This is a truth too visible for you to call in doubt. How unanimous are you to a man in every point, whether of moment or no! whereas, upon our side, many stragglers have appeared in all divisions, even among those who believed the consequence of their dissent would be the worst we could fear: for which, the courage, integrity, and moderation, of those at the helm cannot be sufficiently admired; though I question whether, in good politicks, the last ought always to be imitated.

If your lordship will please to consider the behaviour of the Tories during the long period of this reign while their adversaries were in power, you will find it very different from that of your party at present. We opposed the grant to the duke of *Marlborough* till he had done something to deserve so great a reward; and then it was granted, *nemine contradicente*. We opposed repealing the *test*; which would level the Church Established with every sniveling sect in the nation. We opposed the bill of general naturalization, by which we were in danger to be over-run by schismatics and beggars. The scheme of breaking into the statutes of colleges, which obliged the fellows to take holy orders; the impeachment of Dr. *Sacheverell*; the hopeful project of limiting clergymen what to preach; with several others of the same stamp; were strenuously opposed, as manifestly tending to the ruin of the Church. But you cannot give a single instance, where the

least violation hath been offered to her Majesty's undoubted prerogative, in either house, by the lords or commons of our side. We should have been glad indeed to have seen affairs in other management; yet we never attempted to bring it about by stirring up the city, or inviting foreign ministers to direct the Queen in the choice of her servants, much less by infusing jealousies into the next heir: endeavours were not publicly used to blast the credit of the nation, and discourage foreigners from trusting their money in our funds: nor were writers suffered openly, and in weekly papers, to revile persons in the highest employments. In short, if you can prove where the course of affairs, under the late Ministry, was any way clogged by the Church-party, I will freely own the latter to have so far acted against reason and duty. Your lordship finds I would argue from hence, that even the warmest heads on your side, and those who are deepest engaged, have no tolerable excuse for thwarting the Queen upon all occasions; much less you, my lord, who are not involved in their guilt or misfortunes, nor ought to involve yourself in their resentments.

I have often wondered with what countenance those gentlemen, who have so long engrossed the greatest employments, have shared among them the bounties of the Crown and the spoils of the nation, and are now thrown aside with universal odium, can accost others, who either never received the favours of the Court, or who must depend upon it for their daily support; with what countenance, I say, these gentlemen can accost such persons in their usual style: "My lord, you were always with us; you will not forsake your friends; you have been still right in your principles: let us join to a man, and the Court will not be able to carry it!" and this frequently in points where Whig and Tory are no more concerned, than in the length or colour
of

of your perriwigs. Why all this industry to ply you with letters, messages, and visits, for carrying some peevish vote, which only serves to display inveterate pride, ill-nature, and disobedience, without effect: though you are flattered, it must possibly make the Crown and Ministry so uneasy, as to bring on the necessity of a change; which however is at best a design but ill-becoming a good subject, or a man of honour? I shall say nothing of those who are fallen from their heights of power and profit, who then think all claim of gratitude for past favours canceled. But you, my lord, upon whom the Crown has never cast any peculiar marks of favour or displeasure, ought better to consider the duty you owe your Sovereign, not only as a subject in general, but as a member of the peerage; who have been always the strenuous asserters of just prerogative, against popular encroachments; as well as of liberty, against arbitrary power! so that it is something unnatural, as well as unjust, for one of your order, to oppose the most mild and gracious Prince that ever reigned, upon a party-pique, and in points where prerogative was never disputed.

But, after all, if there were any probable hopes of bringing things to another turn by these violent methods of your friends, it might then perhaps be granted that you acted at least a politic part: but surely the most sanguine among them could hardly have the confidence to insinuate to your lordship the probability of such an event during her Majesty's life. Will any man of common understanding, when he has recovered his liberty after being kept long in the strictest bondage, return of his own accord to gaol, where he is sure of being confined for ever? This her Majesty and millions of her subjects firmly believe to be exactly the case; and whether it be so or no, it is enough that it is so believed; and this

belief is attended with as great an aversion for those keepers as a good Christian can be allowed to entertain, as well as with a dread of ever being again in their power; so that, whenever the Ministry may be changed, it will certainly not be to the advantage of your party, except under the next successor, which I hope is too remote a view for your lordship to proceed by; though I know some of your chiefs, who build all their expectations upon it.

For indeed, my lord, your party is much deceived, when they think to distress a Ministry for any long time, or to any great purpose, while those Ministers act under a Queen who is so firmly convinced of their zeal and ability for her service, and who is at the same time so thoroughly possessed of her peoples hearts. Such a weight will infallibly at length bear down the balance; and, according to the nature of our constitution, it ought to be so; because, when any one of the three powers whereof our government is composed, proves too strong for the other two, there is an end of our Monarchy. So little are you to regard the crude politicks of those who cried out, "The constitution was in danger," when her Majesty lately increased the peerage; without which it was impossible the two houses could have proceeded, with any concert, upon the most weighty affairs of the kingdom.

I know not any quarrels your lordship, as a member of the Whig party, can have against the Court, except those which I have already mentioned; I mean, the removal of the late Ministry, the dismissal of the duke of *Marlborough*, and the present negotiations of peace. I shall not say any thing further upon these heads; only as to the second, which concerns the duke of *Marlborough*, give me leave to observe, that there is no kingdom or state in Christendom where a person in such circumstances would have been so gently treated. But it is the
mis-

misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure are frequently much more public than the cause: the punishments are in the face of the world, when the crimes are in the dark; and posterity, without knowing the truth of things, may perhaps number us among the ungrateful populace of *Greece* and *Rome*, for discarding a General, under whose conduct our troops have been so many years victorious; whereas it is most certain, that this great lord's resolution against peace upon any terms whatsoever did reach the Ministry at home as much as the enemy abroad: nay, his rage against the former was so much the more violent of the two, that, as it is affirmed by skilful computers, he spent more money here upon *secret service* in a few months, than he did for many years in *Flanders*. But, whether that be true or false, your lordship knows very well, that he resolved to give no quarter, whatever he might be content to take when he should find himself at mercy. And the question was brought to this issue, whether the Queen should dissolve the present parliament, procure a new one of the Whig stamp, turn out those who had ventured so far to rescue her from intolerance and ill usage, and invite her old controllers to resume their tyranny with a recruited spirit of vengeance? or, whether she should save all this trouble, danger, and vexation, by only changing one General for another?

Whatever good opinion I may have of the present Ministry, I do not pretend, by any thing I have said, to make your lordship believe that they are persons of sublime abstracted *Roman* virtue: but, where two parties divide a nation, it usually so happens, that, although the virtues and vices may be pretty equal on both sides, yet the public good of the country may suit better with the private interest of one side than of the other. Perhaps there

may be nothing in it but chance; and it might so have happened, if things were to begin again, that the *Junto* and their adherents would have found it their advantage to be obedient subjects, faithful servants, and good church-men. However, since these parts happen to be acted by another sett of men, I am not very speculative to enquire into the motives; but, having no ambition at heart to mislead me, I naturally side with those who proceed most by the maxims wherein I was educated. There was something like this in the quarrel between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*: *Cato* and *Brutus* were the two most virtuous men in *Rome*; the former did not much approve the intentions of the heads on either side; and the latter, by inclination, was more a friend to *Cæsar*: but, because the senate and people generally followed *Pompey*, and as *Cæsar's* party was only made up of the troops with which he conquered *Gaul*, with the addition of some profligate deserters from *Rome*, those two excellent men, who thought it base to stand neuter where the liberties of their country was at stake, joined heartily on that side which undertook to preserve the laws and constitution, against the usurpations of a victorious General, whose ambition was bent to overthrow them.

I cannot dismiss your lordship, without a remark or two upon the bill for appointing commissioners to enquire into the grants since 1668ⁿ, which was lately thrown out of your house, for no other reason than the hopes of putting the Ministry to a plunge. It was universally known, that the Lord Treasurer had prevailed to waive the tack in the house of commons, and promised his endeavours to make the bill pass by itself in the house of lords. I could name at least five or six of your noble friends,

ⁿ See vol. XV. p. 189.

who,

who, if left to the guidance of their own opinion would heartily concur to an entire resumption of those grants; others assure me, they could name a dozen: yet, upon the hope of weakening the Court, perplexing the Ministry, and shaking the Lord Treasurer's credit in the house of commons, you went on so unanimously, that I do not hear there was one single negative in your whole list, nor above one Whig-lord guilty of a *suspicious absence*; who, being much in your lordship's circumstances, of a great patrimonial estate, and under no obligations to either side, did not think himself bound to forward a point, driven-on merely to make the Crown uneasy at this juncture, while it no way affected his principles as a Whig, and which I am told was directly against his private judgement. How he hath since been treated, as an apostate and betrayer of his friends, by some of the leaders and their deputies among you, I hope your lordship is ashamed to reflect on: nor do I take such open and sudden declarations to be very wise, unless you already despair of his return, which, I think, after such usage, you justly may. For the rest, I doubt, your lordship's friends have missed every end they proposed to themselves in rejecting that bill. My Lord Treasurer's credit is not any way lessened in the house of commons. In your own house, you have been very far from making a division among the Queen's friends; as appeared manifestly a few days ago, when you lost your vote by so great a majority, and disappointed those who had been encouraged to hire places, upon certain expectations of seeing a parade to *The Tower*°. Lastly, it may pro-

° "We got a great victory last *Wednesday* [May 28],
 " in the house of lords, by a majority, I think, of twenty-
 " eight; and the Whigs had desired their friends to take
 " places, to see Lord Treasurer carried to *The Tower*."

probably happen, that those who opposed an inquiry into the grants will be found to have hardly done any very great service to the present possessors. To charge those grants with six years purchase to the publick, and then to confirm the title by parliament, would, in effect, be no real loss to the owners; because, by such a confirmation, they would rise in value proportionably, and differ as much as the best title can from the worst. The adverse party knew very well, that nothing beyond this was intended; but they cannot be sure what may be the event of a second inspection, which the resentment of the house of commons will probably render more severe, and which you will never be able to avert when your number lessens, as it certainly must; and when the expedient is put in practice, without a tack, of making those grants part of a supply. From whence it is plain, that the zeal against that bill arose, in a great measure, from some other cause than a tenderness to those who were to suffer by it.

I shall conclude, my lord, with putting you in mind, that you are a subject of the Queen, a peer of the realm, and a servant of your country; and, in any of these capacities, you are not to consider what you dislike in the persons of those who are in the administration, but the manner of conducting

Journal to *Stella*, May 31, 1712.—The motion was, “To address her Majesty, that she would be pleased to send orders to her General [the duke of *Ormond*] to act, in concert with her allies, offensively against *France*, in order to obtain a safe and honourable peace.” This passing in the negative, a protest was entered, and signed by twenty-seven lords; but the *reasons* for it were ordered to be expunged from the Journal, on the 13th of *June* following.

P See this whole matter more fully discussed, vol. XV. p. 189—293.

them-

themselves while they are in: and then I do not despair but your own good sense will fully convince you, that the prerogative of your Prince, without which her government cannot subsist; the honour of your house, which hath been always the great asserter of that prerogative; and the welfare of your country; are too precious to be made a sacrifice to the malice, the interest, and the ambition, of a few party-leaders.



A [SUPPOSED]
 L E T T E R
 FROM
 THE PRETENDER
 TO
 A WHIG LORD^q.

S. Germain, July 8, 1712.

MY LORD WHARTON,

I Thank you heartily for your letter; and you may be firmly assured of my friendship. In answer to what you hint, that some of our friends suspect; I protest to you, upon the word of a king, and my lord *Middleton*^r will be my witness, that I
 never

^q This letter, which was published with an intent to throw the odium of a design to bring in the pretender on the Whigs, is preserved in the *Lambeth Library*, Num. 57. 1. 13.

^r *Charles Middleton*, the second earl of that title, and baron *Clairmont*, was secretary of state for *Scotland* from the year 1684 to the Revolution; when he followed King *James* into *France*, and was attainted by the *Scots* parliament in 1695. He married lady *Catharine* daughter of *Robert* earl of *Cardigan*, by whom he had two sons, *John* lord *Clairmont* and *Charles Middleton*, esq; who were both taken at sea by admiral *Byng*, in the descent which

never held the least correspondence with any one person of the Tory party : I observe, as near as I can, the instructions of the king my father ; among whose papers there is not one letter, as I remember, from any Tory, except two lords and a lady, who, as you know, have been for some years past devoted to me and the Whigs. I approve of the scheme you sent me, signed by our friends. I do not find 24's name to it: perhaps he may be sick, or in the country. *Middleton* will be satisfied to be groom of the stole ; and if you have *Ireland*, 11 may have the staff, provided 15 resigns his pretensions ; in which case, he shall have six thousand pounds a year for life, and a dukedom. I am content 13 should be secretary and a lord ; and I will pay his debts when I am able. I confess, I am sorry your general pardon has so many exceptions ; but you and my other friends are judges of that. It was with great difficulty I prevailed on the queen to let me sign that commission for life, though her majesty is entirely reconciled. If 2 will accept the privy seal, which you tell me is what would please him, the salary shall be doubled : I am obliged to his good intentions, how ill soever they may have succeeded. All other parts of your plan I entirely agree with ; only as to the party that opposeth us, your proposal about Z may bring an odium upon my government : he stands the first excepted ; and we shall have enough

which the *French* intended upon *Scotland* in 1708 ; but, by the Queen's orders, they were soon released, and died in *France* without issue. Their father was also aboard in that armament. He had also two daughters ; lady *Elizabeth*, wife of *Edward*, son of *James* earl of *Perth* ; and lady *Mary*, wife of sir *John Giffard*, knight.—“ He “ is one of the pleasantest companions in the world.” *Macky*.—“ Sir *William Temple* told me, he was a very “ valuable man ; and a good scholar. I once saw him.”
SWIFT, MS.

against

against him in a legal way. I wish you would allow me twelve more domesticks of my own religion; and I will give you what security you please, not to hinder any designs you have of altering the present established worship. Since I have so few employments left me to dispose of, and that most of our friends are to hold theirs for life; I hope you will all be satisfied with so great a share of power. I bid you heartily farewell; and am your assured friend,

James R.



T W O E S S A Y S,

FIRST PRINTED IN

THE THIRD VOLUME

O F

T H E E X A M I N E R,

In the Year 1712-13.

1. An Appendix to "The Conduct of the Allies."
2. A compleat Refutation of the Falsehoods alledged
against ERASMUS LEWIS, Esq;

“ I gave the *Examiner* a hint about this prorogation; and to praise the Queen^s for her tenderness to the *Dutch*, in giving them still more time to submit. It suited the occasions at present.”

Journal to *Stella*, Jan. 15, 1712-13.

“ My friend *Lewis* has had a lye spread on him, by the mistake of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him thanks for passing his privy seal to come from *France*. That other *Lewis* spread about, that the man brought him thanks from lord *Perth* and lord *Melfort* (lords now with the Pretender) for his great services, &c. The lords will examine that other *Lewis* to-morrow in council; and I believe you will hear of it in the prints, for I will make *Abel Roper* give an account of it.”

Ibid. Jan. 27.

“ I was in the city with my printer, to alter an *Examiner*, about my friend *Lewis*’s story; which will be told with remarks.”

Ib. Jan. 31.

“ I could do nothing till to-day about the *Examiner*; but the printer came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to be said: and then Mr. *Lewis* came, and corrected it as he would have it; so that I was neither at church nor court.”

Ibid. Feb. 1.

AN APPENDIX

TO THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES.

Nil est aliud foedere, nisi ut pia & æterna pax sit.
CICERO, pro C. Balbo.

Jan. 16, 1712-13.

I Begin to think that though perhaps there may be several very exact maps of *Great Britain* to be had at the shops in *Amsterdam* or *The Hague*; and some shining genii in that country can, it may be, look out the most remarkable places in our island, especially those upon the sea-coast or near it, as *Portsmouth*, *Chatham*, *Torbay*, and the like; yet it is highly necessary, that *Chamberlain's Present State*, or some other good book of that sort, were carefully translated into *Dutch*, *In usum illustrissimorum ordinum*, or with any other sounding and pompous title, only signifying, that it was done for the use of our good allies, and to set them right in the nature of our government, constitution, and laws; with which they do not appear to be so well acquainted as might be expected. I am sensible that, as things now stand, if a *manifesto* or *memorial* should be sent them, humbly representing to their *High Mightinesses*, That *Great Britain* is an independent monarchy, governed by its own laws: that the Queen is supreme over all orders

SUPPL. I. [XXV.]

Q

of

of the realm: that no other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any authority and jurisdiction over us: that, where the Queen, lords, and commons, solemnly consent, it is a law; and where the collective body of the people agree, it is the sense of the nation: that the making war and peace is the prerogative of the crown; and that all alliances are to be observed only so far as they answer the ends for which they were made: in such a case, it is not unlikely but the *Amsterdam Gazette*, or some other paper in the *Seven Provinces*, would immediately answer all this, by publicly protesting, that it came from the *Jacobites* and *Frenchified High-fliers*, and therefore ought not to be admitted as genuine: for of late that celebrated Writer and two or three of his seconds have undertaken to tell us poor *Britons*, who are our best subjects, and how we ought to behave ourselves towards our allies. So that, in this unhappy juncture, I do not see when we shall come to a right understanding. On the other hand, suppose we agreed to give them the precedence, and left the first proposal for overtures of accommodation to their management; this perhaps might quickly bring us to be better acquainted. Let them therefore lay aside all clumsy pretences to address; tell us no more of former battles, sieges, and glories; nor make love to us in prose, and extol our beauty, our fortune, and their own passion for us, to the stars: but let them come roundly to the business, and in plain terms give us to understand, that they will not recognize any other government in *Great Britain*, but Whiggarchy only: that they treated with us as such, and are not obliged to acknowledge an usurped power, called a Monarchy, to which they are utter strangers: that they have a just demand upon us ever since the Revolution; which is a precedent for their interposing, whenever

Popery

Popery and arbitrary power are coming in upon us, which at present, they are informed by their friends, is our case: and, besides, they are advised by able counsel, that we are only *tenants for life*; and they, being mentioned in the *entail*, are obliged to have a watchful eye over us, and to see that neither waste nor dilapidation be done upon the premises. If all this be not the case, and a true state of the controversy, as I heartily hope it is not; I leave any rational creature, pick him where you will between *The Danube* and *Ganges*, to judge of the following remonstrance.

A war is undertaken by several potentates in conjunction, upon certain causes and conditions, plainly expressed in a writing called "The Grand Alliance." This war is carried on with success; the enemy offers to treat, and proposes to satisfy all the just demands of the several parties engaged against them. *Great Britain* makes her claim; so doth *Portugal*; and both are fully satisfied. The *Dutch* produce their barrier of *Gertruydenberg*; and are assured they shall have it, except two or three places at most. *Savoy* and *Prussia* have more than ever they asked. Only the Emperor will have all *Spain*, contrary to the reasons upon which his brother's renunciation was founded, and in direct violation of a fundamental maxim, "The balance of power:" so that he would involve us in a second war, and a new "Grand Alliance," under pretence of observing the old one. This, in short, is the case; and yet, after all the bloodshed, expence, and labour, to compass these great ends, though her *Britannick* Majesty finds by experience that every potentate in the Grand Alliance, except herself, has actually broke it every year; though she stands possessed of an undoubted right to make peace and war; though she has procured for her allies all that she was obliged

to by treaty ; though her two houses of parliament humbly entreat her to finish the great work ; though her people with one voice admire and congratulate the wise steps she has taken, and cry aloud to her to defer their happiness no longer ; though some of the allies, and one or two of the provinces, have declared for peace, and her Majesty's domestic enemies dread it as the utter downfall of their faction ; yet still the blessing depends, and expectation is our lot. The menacing *pensionary*^a has scruples : he desires time to look out for something to demand : there are a dozen or two of petty princes, who want silk stockings, and lace round their hats : we must stay till the second part of *Denain*^b comes upon the stage,

^a " The pensionary *Heinsius*, a venerable minister, " grown grey in business, and who had governed the " republic of *The United Provinces* for more than forty " years, was absolutely governed by the duke of *Marlborough*." *Chesterfield*, Lett. 136.

^b On the 24th of *July*, 1712, Marshal *Villars* attacked the earl of *Albemarle*, who was encamped with thirty battalions and thirty squadrons at *Denain*, to secure the communication of the allies with *Marchiennes*, where their grand magazine was. In this action, the earl of *Albemarle* was taken prisoner, count *Dhona* lieutenant general and governor of *Mons* was drowned in *The Scheld*, count *Nassau Wodenburgh* killed by the sword, three thousand more killed and wounded, as many made prisoners, and a vast quantity of ammunition and provision, and twelve pieces of cannon, were taken by the *French*. " This disgrace," *Swift* says, vol. XV. p. 259, " happened by a feint of the marshal's, and a manifest failure " somewhere or other both of courage and conduct on " the side of the confederates ; the blame of which was " equally shared between prince *Eugene* and the earl ; " although it is certain, the duke of *Ormond* gave the " latter timely warning of his danger."

and

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES. 229

and Squire South ^c promises to go directly to *Madrid*, the next time we shew him the way thither.

Her Majesty is all goodness and tenderness to her people and her allies. A brighter example of piety could not adorn the life of her Royal Grandfather ^d, whose solemn *anniversary* we must shortly celebrate. She has now prorogued the best Parliament that ever assembled in her reign; and respited her own glory, and the wishes, prayers, and wants of her people, only to give some of her allies an opportunity to think of the returns they owe her, and try if there be such things as gratitude, justice, or humanity, in *Europe*. This conduct of her Majesty is without parallel. Never was so great a condescension made to the

^c The archduke *Charles* of *Austria* (second son to the emperor *Leopold*), to whom the *Spanish* crown was allotted by the second treaty of partition, *March* 15, 1699-1700. *Charles* the Second of *Spain*, provoked at the indignity of parceling out his dominions without his consent, and urged by the intrigues of the marshal *De Harcourt* with the cardinal *Porto-carrero*, by a will made a month before his death, bequeathed his monarchy entire to *Philip* duke of *Anjou*, second son to the dauphin of *France*; with a very distant remainder to the archduke *Charles*. The king of *Spain* dying *Nov.* 1, 1700, *Philip* was proclaimed at *Madrid* on the 24th of that month; and was acknowledged as king both by *England* and *Holland*. Yet the Grand Alliance was concluded, *Sept.* 7, 1701, in support of the emperor's pretensions. *Leopold* and his eldest son the king of the *Romans* having resigned their right to the archduke, the latter was declared king of *Spain*, by the title of *Charles* III, *Sept.* 12, 1703. He was unanimously elected emperor, on the death of his brother *Joseph*, in 1711; and died *Oct.* 20, 1740.—It is well known, that the quotas of the Empire, the principal party in the war, were on all occasions remarkably deficient.

^d King *Charles* the First.

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unreasonable clamours of an insolent faction, now dwindled to the most contemptible circumstances. It is certainly high time they should begin to mediate other measures, unless they vainly imagine the government must part with both its attributes of mercy and justice, till they are pleased to be dutiful and obedient. What ill-grounded hopes and expectations they have under-hand administered to any of the allies, is not worth my while to enquire; since, whatever they are, they must come attended with the blackest treason and ingratitude. The *Dutch* have the least reason in the world to rely on such a broken reed; and, after having solemnly promised to conform themselves to her Majesty's wisdom, and depend on her conduct, which is the language of their latest professions, such clandestine management would fully deserve all those appellations with which the writings of the Whigs are so richly embellished.

After all, when her Majesty and her subjects have waited one period more, and affixed a new date to their wishes and their patience; since peace is the only end of every alliance, and since all that we fought for is yielded-up by the enemy, in justice to her prerogative, to her parliament, and her people, the desirable blessing will, no doubt, be reached out to us: our happiness will not be put off till they who have ill-will at us can find time and power to prevent it. All that a stubborn ally can then expect is, time to come in, and accept those terms which himself once thought reasonable. The present age will soon taste the sweets of such conduct; and posterity as highly applaud it. Only they who now rail and calumniate will do so still, and who are disposed to give every thing the same treatment which makes for our safety and welfare, and spoils their game of disorder and confusion.

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES. 231

It is true, the present stagnation of affairs is accounted for another way; and the party give out, that *France* begins to draw back, and would explain several articles upon us: but the authors of this forgery know very well I do not miscall it; and are conscious to the criminal reasons why it is with so much industry bandied about. *France* rather enlarges her offers, than abates or recedes from them: so happy are we in finding our most inveterate and ungenerous enemies within our own bowels! The Whigs, according to custom, may chuckle and solace themselves with the visionary hopes of coming mischief; and imagine they are grown formidable, because they are to be humoured in their extravagances, and to be paid for their perverseness. Let them go on to glory in their projected schemes of government, and the blessed effects they have produced in the world. It was not enough for them to make obedience the duty of the Sovereign, but this *obedience* must at length be made *passive*; and, that *non-resistance* may not wholly vanish from among the Virtues, since the subject is weary of it, they would fairly make it over to their Monarch. The *compact* between Prince and People is supposed to be mutual; but *grand alliances* are, it seems, of another nature: a failure in one party does not disengage the rest; they are tied up and entangled so long as any one confederate adheres to the *negative*^d; and we are not allowed

^d The constitutions of the diets and dietines in *Poland*, on which volumes have been written without a satisfactory elucidation of the origin, were certainly favourable to public liberty; yet laboured, in their best state, under incurable disorders. The exercise of the *Veto*, or tribunitial negative, that was vested in every member, must always have been destructive of order and government. The *Poles* valued highly this privilege of their deputies,

Q 4

which

allowed to make use of the *Polish* argument, and plead *Non loquitur* ^c. But these artifices are too thin to hold: they are cobwebs, which the *faction* have spun out of the last dregs of their poison, made to be swept away with the unnecessary animals who contrived them. Their tyranny is at an end; and their ruin very near: I can only advise them to become their fall, like *Cæsar*, and “die with decency.”

which they compared to the authority of the *Roman* tribunes: yet it frequently cost the dissenting deputies their lives, for they have even been hewn in pieces by the majority. The general diets consisted of nuncios, or deputies, chosen in the dietines, or particular assemblies of palatinates. But the late dismemberment of that unhappy kingdom has necessarily introduced a new constitution. A permanent council has been formed, by the decisive intervention of those powers whose breath prescribed the fate of *Poland*, and who were equally enabled to admit of its having any form of government or none.

^c The marshal of the nuncios, who was alternately elected out of the lords of *Great* and *Little Poland* and *Lithuania*, was invested with a very extraordinary power. No member whatever could speak without his permission; and he was authorized to impose a *Non loquitur* on whom he pleased. He was the organ of the nobility, and the punisher of all offences committed in the diets.

A COM-

A COMPLEAT REFUTATION
OF
THE FALSEHOODS ALLEDGED AGAINST
ERASMUS LEWIS^f, ESQ;

“ Beware of Counterfeits, for such are abroad.”

Dr. SAFFOLD’S & Quack-bill.

Quin, quæ dixisti modo,

Omnia ementitus equidem Sofia Amphit. yenis sum.

PLAUT.

Parva motu primo, mox sese attollit in auras.

VIRG.

Feb. 2, 1712-13.

I Intend this paper for the service of a particular person; but herein I hope, at the same time, to do some good to the publick. A monstrous story hath

^f *Erasmus Lewis*, esq; at that time secretary to lord *Dartmouth*, provost-marshal of *Barbados*, and representative in parliament for *Lostwithiel*; and afterward secretary to the earl of *Oxford*, lord treasurer.—Several letters from this gentleman to Dr. *Swift* are in the former volumes of this collection; and in particular a caution to secure his papers, dated Nov. 4, 1714, in vol. XX. p. 104.—The Dean’s great regard for Mr *Lewis* appears from the following memorandum, written by him on the back of one of that gentleman’s letters: “ *Lewis*, who “ is wiser than ever he was; the best of husbands; I am “ sure I can say, from my own experience, that he is the “ best of friends; he was so to me, when I had little “ hopes I should ever live to thank him.”—Mr. *Lewis* was also distinguished by the friendship of Mr. *Pope*, who left him a legacy for a ring.

^g Dr. *Saffold*, a celebrated empirick, was the immediate successor of *William Lilly*, the famous physician and astro-

hath been for a while most industriously handed about, reflecting upon a gentleman in great trust under the Principal Secretary of State; who hath conducted himself with so much prudence, that, before this incident, neither the most virulent pens nor tongues have been so bold as to attack him. The reader easily understands that the person here meant is Mr. *Lewis*, secretary to the earl of *Dartmouth*; concerning whom a story hath run, for about ten days past, which makes a mighty noise in this town, is no doubt with very ample additions transmitted to every part of the kingdom, and probably will be returned to us by the *Dutch Gazetteer*, with the judicious comments peculiar to that Political Author: wherefore, having received the fact and the circumstances from the best hands, I shall here set them down before the reader, who will easily pardon the style, which is made up of extracts from the depositions and assertions of the several persons concerned.

On *Sunday* last was month, Mr. *Lewis*, secretary to the earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr. *Skelton*^h, met by
 acci-

astrologer, who had a pension of an hundred pounds a year conferred on him by *Oliver's* council of state. *Saffold* practised the occult sciences, in imitation of his master; to which he added a taste for poetry, as was to be seen upon the sign where he lived. His bills were formerly set up in all publick *diuretic* places in the metropolis, to the great comfort and entertainment of country-folks. He is mentioned in the fifth canto of the *Dispensary* — Dr. *Cafe* inherited the magical utensils of *Lilly* and of *Saffold*.

^h *Charles Skelton*, esq; a Roman Catholick (son of Sir *Bevil Skelton*, formerly lieutenant of *The Tower*), and a general officer in the service of *France*.—In a very remarkable “Ode to the Pretender, inscribed to Mr. *Lesley* “and Mr. *Pope*,” which is without a date, but appears to
 have

accident at Mr. Scarborough's lodgings in *St. James's*, among seven other persons, viz. the earls of *Suffex*^k and *Finlater*^l, the lady *Barbara Skelton*^m, lady *Walter*ⁿ, Mrs. *Vernon*, Mrs. *Scarborough*, and Miss *Scarborough* her daughter; who all declared, "that Mr. Lewis and Mr. *Skelton* were half an hour in company together." There Mrs. *Scarborough* made Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Lewis* known to each other; and

have been printed about 1714, and which Abp. *Tenison's* hand-writing enables us to say was "written by several hands in *Greenwich Park*," we find the following triplet:

"Bid him not doubt whilst *Lefley* pleads his cause,
 "Whilst senseless cudgel'd *Roper* meets applause,
 "And whilst his delegated *Skelton* flights the laws." }

ⁱ *Charles Scarborough*, esq; was then one of the clerks of the board of green cloth. His daughter was a maid of honour.

^k *Thomas Leonard* lord *Dacre*, whose ancestors were barons originally by tenure, and by writ of summons in 1297, was created earl of *Suffex*, Oct. 5, 1674. He married lady *Anne Fitzroy*, natural daughter of king *Charles II.* by *Barbara* duchess of *Cleveland*; by whom he had issue two sons, who both died very young, and two daughters, who, on their father's death in 1715, became heirs to the barony of *Dacre*, which was held in abeyance between them, till, the lady *Barbara* dying in 1740, the lady *Anne* the younger sister became sole heiress to her father and to the barony.

^l *James Ogilvy*, earl of *Finlater* and *Seafeld*, viscount *Redhaven*, and baron *Desford*, was at that time one of the sixteen peers for *Scotland*.

^m Eldest daughter to the earl of *Suffex*. This lady was then lately married to Mr. *Skelton*.

ⁿ This lady's husband, sir *John Walter*, bart. was one of the clerks comptrollers of the board of green cloth. Dr. *Swift*, who calls him "an honest drunken fellow" and "a brute," appears to have been much offended by a misrepresentation sir *John* had made of him. See *Journal to Stella*, Oct. 1, and 5, 1711; and Jan. 13, 1712-13.

told

told the former, "that he ought to thank Mr. *Lewis*,
 "for the trouble he had given himself in the
 "dispatch of a license under the privy seal, by
 "which Mr. *Skelton* was permitted to come from
 "*France to England*." Hereupon Mr. *Skelton* saluted
 Mr. *Lewis*, and told him, "he would wait on him
 "at his house, to return him his thanks." Two
 or three days after, Mr. *Skelton*, in company with the
 earl of *Suffex*, his lady's father, went to a house in
Marlborough-street, where he was informed Mr. *Lewis*
 lived; and, as soon as the supposed Mr. *Lewis* ap-
 peared, Mr. *Skelton* expressed himself in these words:
 "Sir, I beg your pardon; I find I am mistaken: I
 "came to visit Mr. *Lewis* of my lord *Dartmouth's*
 "office, to thank him for the service he did me
 "in passing my privy seal." Mr. *Levi* alias
Lewis answered, "Sir, there is no harm done."
 Upon which, Mr. *Skelton* immediately withdrew to
 my lord *Suffex*, who stayed for him in the coach;
 and drove away. Mr. *Skelton*, who was a stranger to
 the town, ordered the coachman to drive to Mr.
Lewis's, without more particular directions; and this
 was the occasion of the mistake.

For above a fortnight nothing was said of this
 matter; but on *Saturday* the 24th of *January* last, a
 report began to spread, that Mr. *Skelton*, going by
 mistake to Mr. *Henry Levi* alias *Lewis*, instead of
 Mr. *Lewis* of the secretary's office, had told him,
 "that he had services for him from the earls of
 "*Perth*^p, *Middleton*^q, *Melfort*^r, and about twelve
 "persons,

• Mr. *Henry Lewis*, a *Hamburg* merchant.

p *James Drummond*, the fourth earl of *Perth*, was, by
Charles II, made justice general in 1682, and in 1684
 lord chancellor of *Scotland*; in which station he was con-
 tinued by *James II*, till the Revolution; and then, fol-
 lowing that prince into *France*, was by him made a duke
 and knight of the Garter; but was outlawed in parlia-
 ment.

"persons more, of the Court of *St. Germain's*." When Mr. *Lewis* heard of this, he wrote to the above-mentioned *Henry Levi* alias *Lewis*, desiring to be informed, what ground there was for this report; and received for answer, "that his friend *Skelton* could best inform him." Mr. *Lewis* wrote a second letter, insisting on an account of this matter, and that he would come and demand it in person. Accordingly he and *Charles Ford* ^s, esq; went the next morning, and found the said *Levi* in a great surprize at the report, who declared, "he had never given the least occasion for it; and that he would go to all the coffee-houses in town, to do Mr. *Lewis* justice." He was asked by Mr. *Lewis*, "Whether Mr. *Skelton* had named from what places and persons he had brought those services?" Mr. *Levi* alias *Lewis* answered, "he was positive *Mr. Skelton* had neither named person nor place."

ment, and died at *St. Germain's* in 1716, in his 68th year.

*^q See above, p. 220.

^r *John Drummond*, second son of *James* third earl of *Perth*, was created earl of *Melfort*, viscount *Firth*, lord *Drummond* of *Riccarton*, *Castlemain*, and *Gilston*, in 1686, by *James II*; whose fortune he followed at the Revolution, and was created duke of *Melfort* at *St. Germain's*. Not returning to *Scotland* in the time limited by parliament, he was attainted, and his honours forfeited. He died in 1714.

^s Who succeeded Dr. *King* of the Commons as writer of the Gazette; an office he obtained (as his predecessor had done) through the friendship of Dr. *Swift*. See Journal to *Stella*, Dec. 31, 1711; July 1, 1712. He afterwards lived a considerable time in *Ireland*; and died at *London* in April 1741. His papers (which would greatly elucidate this collection) were bequeathed to his sister *Penelope*, and came finally into the hands of *Deane Swift*, esq. Several of Mr. *Ford's* letters are printed in *Swift's Works*.

Here

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 "for the trouble he had given himself in the
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 ment,

"persons more, of the Court of *St. Germain's*." When Mr. *Lewis* heard of this, he wrote to the above-mentioned *Henry Levi* alias *Lewis*, desiring to be informed, what ground there was for this report; and received for answer, "that his friend *Skelton* could best inform him." Mr. *Lewis* wrote a second letter, insisting on an account of this matter, and that he would come and demand it in person. Accordingly he and *Charles Ford* ^s, esq; went the next morning, and found the said *Levi* in a great surprize at the report, who declared, "he had never given the least occasion for it; and that he would go to all the coffee-houses in town, to do Mr. *Lewis* justice." He was asked by Mr. *Lewis*, "Whether Mr. *Skelton* had named from what places, and persons he had brought those services?" Mr. *Levi* alias *Lewis* answered, "he was positive *Mr. Skelton* had neither named person nor place."

ment, and died at *St. Germain's* in 1716, in his 68th year.

*^q See above, p. 220.

^r *John Drummond*, second son of *James* third earl of *Perth*, was created earl of *Melfort*, viscount *Firth*, lord *Drummond* of *Riccarton*, *Castlemain*, and *Gilston*, in 1686, by *James II*; whose fortune he followed at the Revolution, and was created duke of *Melfort* at *St. Germain's*. Not returning to *Scotland* in the time limited by parliament, he was attainted, and his honours forfeited. He died in 1714.

^s Who succeeded Dr. *King* of the Commons as writer of the *Gazette*; an office he obtained (as his predecessor had done) through the friendship of Dr. *Swift*. See *Journal to Stella*, Dec. 31, 1711; July 1, 1712. He afterwards lived a considerable time in *Ireland*; and died at *London* in April 1741. His papers (which would greatly elucidate this collection) were bequeathed to his sister *Penelope*, and came finally into the hands of *Deane Swift*, esq. Several of Mr. *Ford's* letters are printed in *Swift's Works*.

Here

Here Mr. *Skelton* was called in; and Mr. *Levi* alias *Lewis* confirmed what he had said in his hearing. Mr. *Lewis* then desired, he would give him in writing what he had declared before the company; but Mr. *Levi* alias *Lewis* excused it, as unnecessary, "because he had already said he would do him justice in all the coffee-houses in town." On the other hand, Mr. *Lewis* insisted to have it in writing, as being less troublesome; and to this Mr. *Levi* alias *Lewis* replied, "That he would give his answer by three o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly Mr. *Ford* went to his house at the time appointed, but did not find him at home; and in the mean time the said *Levi* went to *White's* Chocolate-house; where, notwithstanding all he had before denied, he spread the above-mentioned report afresh, with several additional circumstances, as, "That when Mr. *Skelton* and the earl of *Sussex* came to his house, they stayed with him a considerable time, and drank tea."

The earl of *Peterborough*^t, uncle to the said Mr. *Skelton*, thought himself obliged to enquire into the truth of this matter: and, after some search, found Mr. *Levi* alias *Lewis* at the *Thatched-house Tavern*; where he denied every thing again to his lordship, as he had done in the morning to Mr. *Ford*, Mr. *Lewis*, and Mr. *Skelton*.

This affair coming to the knowledge of the Queen, her Majesty was pleased to order an examination of it by some lords of the council. Their lordships appointed *Wednesday* the 28th of *January* last for this enquiry: and gave notice for attendance to the said *Levi* alias *Lewis*, and several other persons who had knowledge of the matter. When Mr. *Levi* alias *Lewis* was called in, he declared, "That Mr. *Skel-*

^t See the "Epistolary Correspondence," in this Supplement.

"ton told him he had services for him from *France*, "but did not name any persons." *William Pulteney*, esq;^u who was summoned, affirmed, "That he had told him, *Mr. Skelton* named the earl of *Perth* and *Melfort*." Here *Levi* alias *Lewis* appeared in confusion; for he had intreated *Mr. Pulteney*, not to say he had named any names, "for he would not stand it;" but *Mr. Pulteney* answered, "You may give yourself the lye; I will not." The earl of *Sussex* declared, "he did not go out of his coach,

^u *Mr. Pulteney* was born *March 22, 1683-4*; had early a seat in the house of commons, and distinguished himself in opposition to *Queen Anne's* last ministry. On the accession of *King George*, he was appointed secretary at war, *Sept. 27, 1714*; and afterward cofferer of the household. He was at this time the intimate friend of *Sir Robert Walpole*; but in 1725, that minister being suspected of a desire to extend the bounds of prerogative, *Mr. Pulteney* entered steadily into opposition; and at last became so obnoxious to the Crown, that, *July 1, 1731*, *King George II*, with his own hand, struck him out of the list of privy counsellors, and ordered him to be put out of the list of all commissions of the peace. A proceeding so violent in the ministry served only to inflame his resentment, and increase his popularity. *Sir Robert* resigning his employments in 1741, *Mr. Pulteney* was again sworn of the privy council; and created baron of *Heydon*, viscount *Pulteney*, and earl of *Bath*. From that moment his favour with the people was at an end; and the rest of his life was spent in contemning that applause which he no longer could secure.—His lordship appears, however, (from the *Memoirs* of *Bp. Pearce*) to have been high in the confidence of his present Majesty, and of the prince his father.—*William viscount Pulteney*, his only son, who was a lord of the bedchamber, aid de camp to the king, and colonel of the royal volunteers, going over with his regiment in the defence of *Portugal*, died *Feb. 16, 1763*; and the earl dying *July 7, 1764*, at the age of 81, the titles became extinct.

and

“ and that his son-in-law, Mr. *Skelton*, had not been gone half a minute before he returned to the coach.” Mr. *Skelton* declared, “ That he knew Mr. *Lewis* by sight perfectly well; that he immediately saw his mistake; that he said nothing to him but the words first mentioned; and that he had not brought Mr. *Lewis* any service from any person whatsoever.” The earl of *Finlater* and other persons summoned declared, “ That Mr. *Lewis* and Mr. *Skelton* were personally known to each other,” which rendered it wholly improbable that Mr. *Skelton* should mistake him: so that the whole matter appeared to be only a foolish and malicious invention of the said *Levi* alias *Lewis*, who, when called to an account, utterly disowned it.

If Mr. *Levi*'s view, in broaching this incoherent slander, was to make his court to any particular persons, he has been extremely disappointed; since all men of principle, laying aside the distinction of opinions in politicks, have entirely agreed in abandoning him; which I observe with a great deal of pleasure, as it is for the honour of human-kind. But, as neither virtue nor vice are wholly engrossed by either party, the good qualities of the mind, whatever biases they may receive by mistaken principles or mistaken politicks, will not be extinguished. When I reflect on this, I cannot, without being a very partial writer, forbear doing justice to *William Pulteney*, esq; who, being desired by this same Mr. *Levi* to drop one part of what he knew, refused it with disdain. Men of honour will always side with the truth; of which the behaviour of Mr. *Pulteney*, and of a great number of gentlemen of worth and quality, are undeniable instances.

I am only sorry, that the unhappy author of this report seems left so entirely desolate of all his acquaintance, that he hath nothing but his own conduct

duct to direct him; and consequently is so far from acknowledging his iniquity and repentance to the world, that, in the *Daily Courant* of *Saturday* last, he hath published a *narrative*, as he calls it, of what passed between him and Mr. *Skelton*, wherein he recedes from some part of his former confession. This *narrative* is drawn up by way of answer to an advertisement in the same paper two days before: which advertisement was couched in very moderate terms, and such as Mr. *Levi* ought, in all prudence, to have acquiesced in. I freely acquit every body but himself from any share in this miserable proceeding; and can foretel him, that, as his prevaricating manner of adhering to some part of the story will not convince one rational person of his veracity; so neither will any body interpret it otherwise than as a blunder of a helpless creature left to itself, who endeavours to get out of one difficulty, by plunging into a greater. It is therefore for the sake of this poor young man, that I shall set before him, in the plainest manner I am able, some few inconsistencies in that *narrative* of his; the truth of which, he says, he is ready to attest upon oath; which whether he would avoid by an oath only upon the Gospels, himself can best determine.

Mr. *Levi* says, in the aforesaid *narrative* in the *Daily Courant*, "That Mr. *Skelton*, mistaking him
 " for Mr. *Lewis*, told him he had several services to
 " him from *France*, and named the names of several
 " persons, which he [*Levi*] will not be positive to." Is it possible that, among several names, he cannot be positive so much as to *one*, after having named the earls of *Perth*, *Middleton*, and *Melfort*, so often at *White's* and the Coffee-houses? Again, he declared, "that my lord *Suffex* came in with Mr. *Skel-*
ton; that both drank tea with him;" and therefore, whatever words passed, my lord *Suffex* must be

a witness to. But his lordship declares before the council, "that he never stirred out of the coach; "and that Mr. *Skelton*, in going, returning, and "talking with *Levi*, was not absent half a minute." Therefore, now, in his printed narrative, he contradicts that essential circumstance of my lord *Suffex* coming in along with Mr. *Skelton*; so that we are here to suppose, that this discourse passed only between him and Mr. *Skelton*, without any third person for a witness; and therefore he thought he might safely affirm what he pleased. Besides, the nature of their discourse, as Mr. *Levi* reports it, makes this part of his narrative impossible and absurd; because the truth of it turns upon Mr. *Skelton's* mistaking him for the real Mr. *Lewis*; and it happens, that seven persons of quality were by in a room, where Mr. *Lewis* and Mr. *Skelton* were half an hour in company; and saw them talk together. It happens likewise, that the real and counterfeit *Lewis* have no more resemblance to each other in their persons, than they have in their understandings, their truth, their reputation, or their principles. Besides, in this narrative, Mr. *Levi* directly affirms what he directly denied to the earl of *Peterborough*, Mr. *Ford*, and Mr. *Lewis* himself; to whom he twice or thrice expressly affirmed, that Mr. *Skelton* had not named either place or person.

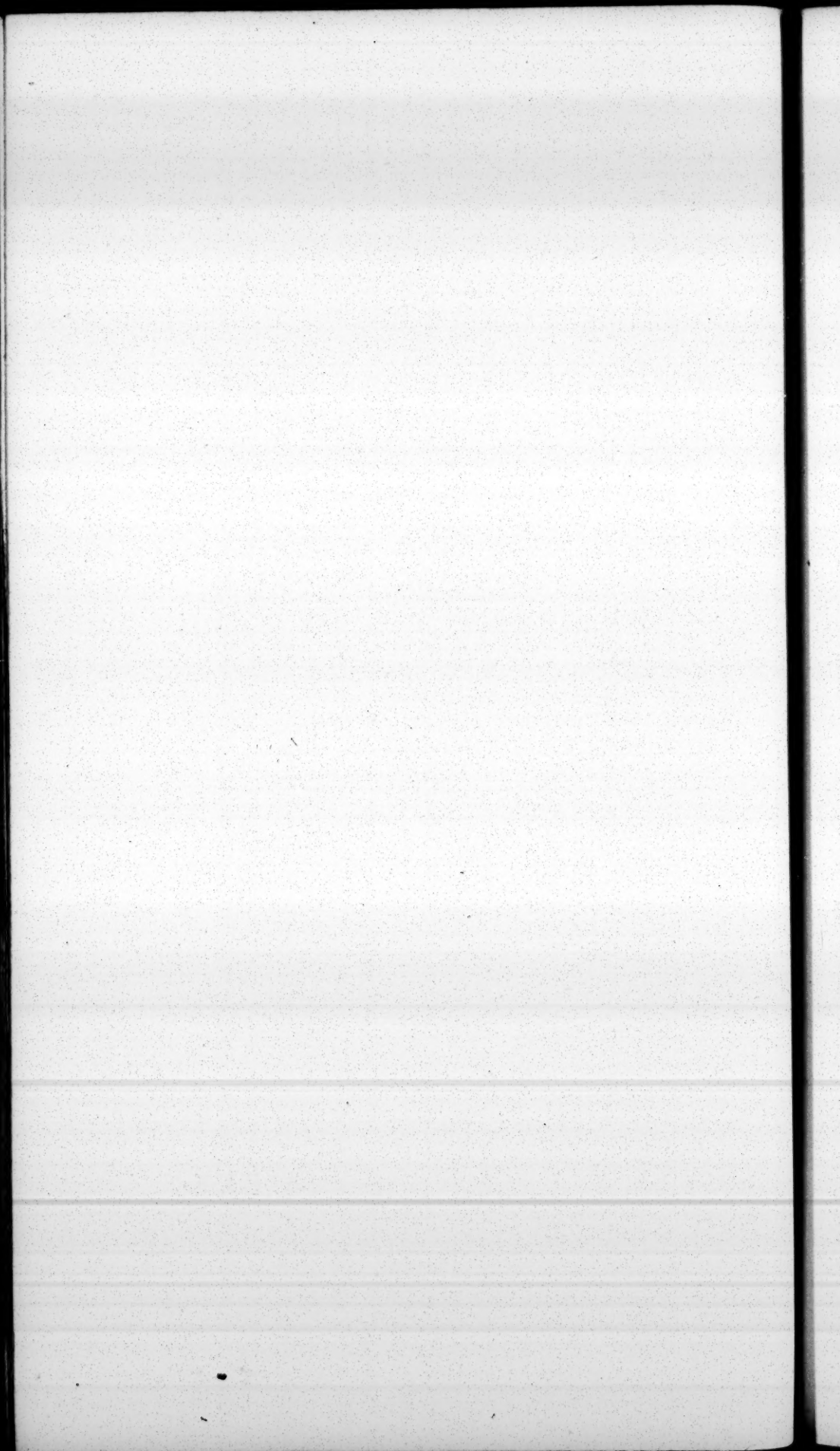
There is one circumstance in *Levi's* narrative, which may deceive the reader. He says, "Mr. " *Skelton* was taken into the dining-room;" this dining-room is a ground-room next the street, and Mr. *Skelton* never went further than the door of it. His many prevarications in this whole affair, and the many thousand various ways of telling his story, are too tedious to be related. I shall therefore conclude with one remark. By the true account given in this paper, it appears that Mr. *Skelton*, finding his mis-

take

take before he spake a word, begged Mr. *Levi's* pardon; and by way of apology told him, "his visit was intended to Mr. *Lewis* of my lord *Dartmouth's* office, to thank him for the *service* he had done him, in passing the privy-seal." It is probable that Mr. *Levi's* low intellectuals were deluded by the word *service*, which he took as compliments from some persons; and then it was easy to find names. Thus, what his ignorance and simplicity misled him to begin, his malice taught him to propagate.

I have been the more solicitous to set this matter in a clear light; because, Mr. *Lewis* being employed and trusted in public affairs, if this report had prevailed, persons of the first rank might possibly have been wounded through his sides^w.

^w This account by Dr. *Swift* was published Feb. 2; and was confirmed in the *Gazette* of the following day by three advertisements, containing the respective affidavits of *Erasmus Lewis*, esq; *Charles Ford*, esq; and Brigadier *Skelton*. The two first of these gentlemen deposed, "That, having called at Mr. *Henry Lewis's* house, he told them, he was much surprized at the reports that had been raised on this occasion; and that he would go to all the chocolate-houses and coffee-houses in town, to do justice to Mr. *Erasmus Lewis*." And the testimony of Mr. *Skelton* himself seems sufficiently to have cleared up the whole. Yet there remained some who were obstinately incredulous; as appears by the *Flying-Post* of Feb. 3; and by a humorous satirical ballad, which it occasioned, called, "*Lewis upon Lewis*, or the Snake in the Grass."



A P R E T E N D E D
L E T T E R O F T H A N K S
F R O M
L O R D W H A R T O N
T O T H E
L o r d B i s h o p o f S T. A S A P H,
I N T H E N A M E O F
T H E K I T - C A T - C L U B.

T O W H I C H A R E A D D E D,
R E M A R K S O N T H E B I S H O P ' S P R E F A C E,

F i r s t p r i n t e d i n 1712;

“ Do you know that *Grub-street* is dead and gone
 “ last week? No more ghosts or murders now, for
 “ love or money. I plied it close the last fortnight;
 “ and published AT LEAST SEVEN PAPERS^a OF MY
 “ OWN, besides some of other people’s; but now
 “ every single half-sheet pays a halfpenny to the
 “ Queen. The *Observer* is fallen; the *Medleys* are
 “ jumbled together with the *Flying-Post*; the *Exami-*
 “ *ner* is deadly sick; the *Spectator* keeps up, and
 “ doubles its price; I know not how long it will
 “ hold. Have you seen the red stamp, the papers
 “ are marked with? methinks the stamping is worth
 “ a halfpenny.” Journal to *Stella*, Aug. 7, 1712.

“ I should likewise speak something to the pur-
 “ port of a Letter pretended to be written to me by
 “ my lord *Wharton*: but I see the executioner impa-
 “ tient till he performs the ceremony of this ordeal
 “ sacrifice; wherefore I shall only desire you, Mr.
 “ *Ketch*, to thank the *would-be-a-Dean* that jumbled
 “ it together.” *The Trial and Condemnation of Don*
Prefatio^b *d’Asaven*, with his speech at the place of exe-
cution, &c. 1712. p. 46.

^a One of these was possibly the pamphlet here re-
 printed.

^b See “ Remarks on the Bishop’s Preface,” p. 260.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH^c.

MY LORD,

IT was with no little satisfaction I undertook the pleasing task, assigned me by the gentlemen of the

^c *William Fleetwood*, born in *The Tower of London*, Jan. 1, 1656, was educated at *Eaton*, and thence elected to *King's College, Cambridge*. He entered into holy orders about the time of the Revolution, and was esteemed even at first a celebrated preacher. He was soon made chaplain to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; was fellow of *Eaton College*, rector of *St. Austin's, London*, and lecturer of *St. Dunstan's in the West*. His curious "Essay on Miracles," on which Bp. *Hoadly* and others have animadverted, was printed in 1701. The next year he obtained from Queen *Anne* (in opposition to the House of Commons, who recommended their chaplain to it) a canonry of *Windsor*, to which he had been nominated by King *William*, the week before his death. In 1705, he determined on quitting *London*, and retired to the little rectory of *Wenham, Bucks*; where he indulged himself in his natural inclination to the study of *British* history and antiquities: and an admirable specimen of his skill therein appeared, in his "Chronicon Pretiosum," 1707. On the 6th of June, 1708, he was consecrated bishop of *St. Asaph*; having

the *Kit-Cat Club*^d, of addressing your lordship with thanks for your late service so seasonably done to

been nominated by the Queen without solicitation; and not even knowing of his preferment, till he saw it in the Gazette. He was translated to *Ely*, Dec. 18, 1714; and died Aug. 4, 1723. His works were completely collected by Dr. *Powell*; and by him published, with a Life of the Author, in one volume folio, in 1737.

^d This club, which consisted of the most distinguished wits and statesmen among the Whigs, was remarkable for the strictest attachment to the House of *Hanover*. They met at a little house in *Shire Lane*; and are said by some to have taken their title from the real name of a Pastry-cook who excelled in making Mutton-pies*, which were regularly a part of their entertainment; by others, from their meetings being held at the house of one *Christopher Catt*. *Charles* earl of *Dorset* was one of the founders of the Club; which consisted of no more than thirty-nine members, all men of the first rank for quality or learning; most of whom had been employed in the highest military and civil offices, none being admitted but those of the greatest distinction. Sir *Richard Blackmore* published, in 1708, "The Kit-Cats, a poem." A ludicrous account of them is in *Ned Ward's* "History of Clubs," which represents Mr. *Tonson* as the first institutor. Several of their verses, written on the toasting-glasses of this club, are in the fifth volume of *Dryden's* Miscellanies; and an epigram occasioned by them is in vol. VI. of this collection, p. 223. The portraits of this society (drawn by Sir *Godfrey Kneller*, and since engraved) were all at *Barnes*, in the possession of the late Mr. *Jacob Tonson*, whose father was secretary to this august assembly. Sir *Godfrey's* own picture is among them, of a smaller size than the others. From these portraits, "Kit-Cat" became a technical term in painting.—Dr. *William King*, of the Commons, who was undoubtedly a first-rate writer *de re culinaria*, has pointed-out the merits of their Provviditor, in his admirable *Art of Cookery*,

"Immortal made, as *Kit-Cat* by his Pies!"

* "The *Kit-Cat* itself is said to have taken its original from "a mutton-pye," says Mr. *Addison*, *Spect.* N^o 9.

our

our sinking cause; in re-printing those most excellent Discourses, which you had formerly preached with so great applause, though they were never heard of by us till they were recommended to our perusal by the *Spectator*; who some time since, in one of his papers^c, entertained the town with a paragraph out of the *Post-Boy*, and your lordship's extraordinary Preface.

The world will perhaps be surprized, that gentlemen of our complexion, who have so long been piously employed in overturning the foundations of religion and government, should now stoop to the puny amusement of reading and commending Sermons. But your lordship can *work* miracles, as well as *write* on them; and I dare assure your lordship and the world, that there is not an Atheist in the whole kingdom (and we are no inconsiderable party) but will readily subscribe to the principles so zealously advanced, and so learnedly maintained, in those Discourses.

I cannot but observe with infinite delight, that the reasons your lordship gives for re-printing those immortal pieces are urged with that strength and force which is peculiar to your lordship's writings, and is such as all who have any regard for truth, or relish for good writing, must admire, though none can sufficiently commend.

In a word, the Preface is equal to the Sermons: less than *that* ought not, and more cannot, be said of it. In this you play the part of a Prophet, with the same address as that of a Preacher in those; and, in a strain no ways inferior to *Jeremiah*, or any of those old pretenders to inspiration, sagely foretel those

^c The *Spectator*, N^o 384, May 21, 1712. The Preface was severely reprehended by the *Examiner*, N^o 26, May 29; and more humourously in the *Remarks* annexed to this little Treatise.

impending miseries which seem to threaten these nations, by the introduction of popery and arbitrary power. Thi a man of less penetration than your lordship, without a spirit of divination, or going to the Devil for the discovery, may justly "fear and
 "presage, from the natural tendency of several
 "principles and practices which have of late been
 "so studiously revived." I know your lordship means those long-since exploded doctrines of obedience, and submission to princes, which were only calculated to make "a free and happy people slaves
 "and miserable." Who but asses, and pack-horses, and beasts of burden, can entertain such servile notions? What! shall the lives and liberties of a free-born nation be sacrificed to the pride and ambition, the humour and caprice, of any one single person? Kings and princes are the creatures of the people, meer state pageants, more for shew than use; and shall we fall down and worship those idols, those golden calves of our own setting up? No, never, as long as I can hold a sword, or your lordship a pen.

It was suitable to that admirable foresight, which is so conspicuous in every part of your lordship's conduct, to take this effectual method of delivering yourself "from the reproaches and curses of posterity, by publicly declaring to all the world, that
 "though, in the constant course of your ministry,
 "you have never failed, on proper occasions, to
 "recommend the loving, honouring, and reverencing the Prince's person," so as never to break his royal shins, nor tread upon his heels; yet you never intended men should pay any submission or obedience to him any longer than he acted according to the will and pleasure of his people. This, you say, is the opinion of *Christ*, *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*: and, faith, I am glad to hear it; for I never thought
 that

that *they* had been Whigs before. But, since your lordship has thus taught them to declare for rebellion, you may easily persuade them to do as much for prophaneness and immorality; and then they, together with your lordship, shall be enrolled members of our club. Your lordship, a little after (I suppose, to strengthen the testimony of the aforementioned authors), takes care to tell us, that “this always was, and still is, your own judgement in these matters.” You need not fear we should suspect your constancy and perseverance; for my lord *Somers*, that great genius^f, who is the life and soul, the head and heart, of our party, has long since observed, that we have never been disappointed in any of our Whig-bishops; but they have always unalterably acted up, or, to speak properly, down to their principles.

It is impossible for me, my lord, in this short address, to do justice to every part of your incompa-

^f “*Somers*, though meanly descended, rendered himself respectable by talents, which he knew well to improve to his own advantage. He was a man of abilities in his profession; but his parts were more solid than brilliant, or even clear. He was rather a good chancellor than a great statesman. His integrity and diligence in office were, with reason, commended. He was too diffident, and too compliant with the king, to make any splendid figure, beyond his own line of the law. His complaisance to the king’s humour, his flattering him in his very vices, his feeble manner of recommending what seemed right to his own judgment, bore more the appearance of a convenient than of an able servant. Upon the whole, he seemed more calculated to smooth the current of business, by amending and softening measures already adopted, than to propose and execute those spirited and manly expedients which times of faction seem to demand at the hands of a great minister.” *Macpherson*. (See above, p. 73.)

vable Preface: nor need I run riot in encomium and panegyrick, since you can perform that part so much better for yourself; for you only give those praises, which you only can deserve; as you have formerly proved, in the dedication of your "Essay upon Miracles^f," to Dr. *Godolphin*^g; where you declare your work to be the most perfect of any upon that subject, in order to pay a very uncommon compliment to your patron, by telling him you had prevailed with your modesty to say so much of your performance, because you would not be thought to make so ill a compliment to him, as to present him with what you had not a great esteem for yourself.

Though I cannot go through the whole Preface; yet I think myself obliged in gratitude to thank your lordship in a more particular manner for the last part of it, where you display the glories of the Whig ministry in such strong and lasting colours, as must needs cheer and refresh the sight of all Whig spectators, and dazzle the eyes of the Tories. Here your lordship rises, if possible, above yourself. Never was such strength of thought, such beauty of expression, so happily joined together. Heavens! such force, such energy, in each pregnant word! such fire, such fervour, in each glowing line! One would think your lordship was animated with the same spirit, with which our hero fought. Who can read, unmoved, these following strokes of oratory? "Such" was the fame, such was the reputation, such was "the faithfulness and zeal, to such a height of military glory, such was the harmony and consent, such was the blessing of God, &c." O! the irre-

^f Which was first published in 1701.

^g Dr. *Henry Godolphin*, Vice-provost of *Eaton*, and residentiary of *St. Paul's*. He was installed dean of that cathedral, July 18, 1707.

THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH. 253

sistible charm of the word *such* ! Well, since *Eras-*
mus ^h wrote a treatise in praise of Folly ⁱ; and my
 lord *Rocheſter* ^k an excellent poem upon Nothing, I
 am

^h This great man, who was the boast and glory of his country, distinguished himself as a reformer of religion, and restorer of learning. His religion was as remote from the bigotry and persecuting spirit of the age in which he lived, as his learning was from the pedantry and barbarism of the schools. He was much esteemed by King *Henry VIII.* and the *English* nobility, whom he celebrates as the most learned in the world. He lived in the strictest intimacy with *More*, *Linacre*, *Colet*, and *Tonstall*; and preferred the society of his ingenious and learned friends to that of the greatest princes in *Europe*, several of whom sought his acquaintance. We find in his works, particularly in his Colloquies and Epistles, a more just and agreeable picture of his own times, than is to be met with in any other author.—He was born *Oct.* 28, 1467, at *Rotterdam*; and came into *England*, in 1510; where he was made *Margaret* professor of divinity at *Cambridge*, Greek professor at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and minister of *Aldington* in *Kent*. He died *June* 20, 1536. The best edition of his works is that by *J. Le Clerc*, published at *Leyden*, in ten volumes folio, 1703. See *Granger*.—His Life has employed the pen of the learned *Dr. Fortin*.

ⁱ The "*Moriæ Encomium*" he wrote, within the compass of a week, at the house of his friend *More*; with whom he lodged on his arrival in *England*. A copy of it was sent to *France*, and printed there with abundance of faults; yet it took so well, that in a few months it went through seven editions.

^k *John Wilmot*, son of *Henry* earl of *Rocheſter*, who bore a great part in the civil war, was born in *April* 1648, and succeeded to the title in 1659. He held the first rank of the men of wit and pleasure of his age; and will ever be remembered for the extreme licentiousness of his manners and his writings. He had an elegant person, an easy address, and a quickness of understanding and invention almost peculiar to himself; and what may now perhaps seem

im-

am resolved to employ the *Speſtator*, or ſome of his fraternity (dealers in words), to write an encomium upon SUCH. But, whatever changes our language may

improbable, he had natural modeſty. He entered, with bluſhes in his face, into the fashionable vices of the reign of *Charles II*; but he well knew, that even theſe vices would recommend him, and only be conſidered as ſo many graces added to his character. His ſtrong and lively parts quickly enabled him to go far beyond other men in his irregularities; and he ſoon became one of the moſt daring profligates of his age. He was in a continual ſtate of intoxication, for ſeveral years together; and the *King*, who admired his fallies of wit and humour, was more delighted with his company when he was drunk, than with any other man's when he was ſober. He was ever engaged in ſome amour or other, and frequently with women of the loweſt order, and the vileſt prostitutes of the town. He would ſometimes, upon theſe occaſions, appear as a beggar or porter; and he as well knew how to aſſume the character as the dreſs of either. After he had run the giddy round of pleaſure, his eyes were open to conviction, and he became the Chriſtian and the penitent. His repentance began with remorse and horror, but ended with hope and conſolation. He died *July 26, 1680*.—Though he was in the higheſt repute as a ſatiriſt, he was but ill entitled to that diſtinction: his ſatires are not only unpolite, but groſsly indecent. His poem on “Nothing,” and his “Satire againſt Man,” are a ſufficient proof of his abilities: but it muſt be acknowledged, that the greateſt part of his works are trivial or deteſtable. He has had a multitude of readers: ſo have all other writers, who have ſoothed, or fallen-in with, the prevailing paſſions and corruptions of mankind. Such are the remarks of the judicious Mr. *Granger*.—But the fact ſeems to be, that, having obtained the character of a lewd writer, every thing in that ſtrain was fathered upon him.—In the “Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors,” lord *Rochefter* is called “a man, whom the Muſes were ſaid “to inſpire, and aſhamed to avow; and who practiſed
“with-

may undergo (and every thing that is *English* is given to change), this happy word is sure to live in your immortal Preface. Your lordship does not end yet; but, to crown all, has another *such* in reserve, where you tell the world, "We were just entering on the ways that lead to *such* a peace as " would have answered all our prayers, &c." Now, perhaps, some snarling Tory might impertinently enquire, when we might have expected such a peace? I answer, when the *Dutch* could get nothing by the war, nor we Whigs lose any thing by a peace; or, to speak in plain terms (for every one knows I am a free speaker as well as a free thinker), when we had exhausted all the nation's treasure (which every body knows could not have been long first), and so far enriched ourselves, and beggared our fellow-subjects, as to bring them under a necessity of submitting to what conditions we should think fit to impose; and this too we should have effected, if we had continued in power. But, alas! just in that critical juncture, when (as we thought) our designs were ripe for execution, the scene changed: "God, for our sins," as your lordship wisely observes, "permitted the " spirit of discord" (that is, the doctrine of obedience and submission to princes) "to go forth, and, by " troubling the camp, the city, and the country " (and oh that it had spared the places sacred to his

" without the least reserve that secret, which can make " verses more read for their defects than for their " merits. His poems have much more obscenity than " wit, more wit than poetry, more poetry than politeness."—A handsome edition of his works was printed in 8vo. by *Tonson*, 1705; in which the most exceptionable pieces were prudently omitted; and, with a few more castrations, his poems have had the honour of being admitted in the late very admirable collection of the *English Poets*.

“worship!) to spoil, for a time, this beautiful and
 “pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead, I know
 “not what” Oh exquisite! how patheti-
 cally does your lordship complain of the downfall of
 Whiggism, and *Daniel Burgefs’s* meeting-house¹! The
 generous compassion your lordship has shewn upon
 this tragical occasion makes me believe your lordship
 will not be unaffected with an accident that had like
 to have befallen a poor whore of my acquaintance
 about that time, who, being big with Whig, was so
 alarmed at the rising of the mob, that she had like
 to have miscarried upon it; for the logical jade pre-
 sently concluded (and the inference was natural
 enough) that, if they began with pulling down meet-
 ing-houses, it might end in demolishing those houses
 of pleasure where she constantly paid her devotion;
 and, indeed, there seems a close connexion between
extempore prayer and *extempore* love. I doubt not, if
 this disaster had reached your lordship before, you
 would have found some room in that moving *pa-*
rentbesis, to have expressed your concern for it.

¹ The mob, that attended Dr. *Sacheverell* to his trial, attacked Mr. *Burgefs’s* Meeting-house, *March 1, 1709-10*; and, having pulled down the pulpit, pews, &c. made a bonfire of them in *Lincoln’s Inn Fields*, and would have thrown the preacher in if they had found him. A proclamation was issued, next day, offering a reward of one hundred pounds, for apprehending any of the rioters. *Daniel Damaree* and *George Purchase* (a Bailiff in *Westminster*) were all that were discovered. They were afterward tried at the *Old Bailey* for High Treason; and, being found guilty, received sentence of death: but, as a very able writer, Sir *Michael Foster*, observes, her Majesty’s new advisers did not chuse to have the dawn of their administration stained with the blood of Dr. *Sacheverell’s* ablest advocates. They were therefore pardoned; and *Damaree*, who was one of the Queen’s Watermen, was restored to his badge and livery, which he wore until her Majesty’s death.

I come

I come now to that last stroke of your lordship's almighty pen; I mean that expressive dash which you give when you come to the new Ministry, where you break off with an artful *apostrophe*, and, by refusing to say any thing of them yourself, leave your readers to think the worst they possibly can. Here your lordship shews yourself a most consummate orator, when even your very silence is thus eloquent.

Before I take my leave, I cannot but congratulate your lordship upon that distinguishing mark of honour which the House of Commons has done your Preface, by ordering it to be burnt^m. This will add a never-failing lustre to your character, when future ages shall read, how a few pages of your lordship's could alarm the representative body of the nation. I know your lordship had rather live in a blaze, than lye buried in obscurity; and would at any rate purchase immortality, though it be in flames. Fire, being a mounting element, is a proper emblem of your lordship's aspiring genius.

^m This was performed May 12, 1712. See an admirable letter on that occasion to Bishop Burnet, June 17, 1712, in the Preface to Bishop Fleetwood's Works.—The vote was carried in the house by a majority of 119, against 54; amongst the dissenting voices, were Sir Peter King, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lechmere, and others of the long robe. "The complaint" (says the Bishop) "was made by Hungerford*", and seconded by Manley† (people that indeed should have been ordered to have burnt it), "and thirded by what we call the Court; and carried by numbers, without a wise word said against it."

* John Hungerford, esq; a commissioner of the alienation-office.

† John Manley, esq; surveyor general, and chief justice in Eyre, North of Trent. He was brother to the post-master of Ireland.

I shall detain your lordship no longer; but, according to your example, conclude with a short prayer (though praying, I confess, is not my talent):—May you never want opportunities of thus signifying yourself; but be “transmitted to posterity,” under the character of one who dares sacrifice every thing that is most dear to you (even your own darling labours) to promote the interest of our party; and stand fainted in the Whig kalendar, as a martyr for the cause! This is the sincere wish of the greatest (next yourself) of your lordship’s admirers,

WHARTONⁿ.

ⁿ “ Lord *Somers* recommended Dr. *Swift*, at his own
 “ very earnest request, to lord *Wharton*, when that earl
 “ went lieutenant to *Ireland* in 1708, but without success;
 “ and the answer *Wharton* is said to have given was never
 “ forgotten or forgiven by *Swift* *; but seems to have
 “ laid the foundation of that peculiar rancour with which
 “ he always mentions lord *Wharton* †. I saw and read
 “ two letters of *Jonathan Swift*, then prebendary of
 “ *St. Patrick’s, Dublin*, to lord *Somers*: the first ear-
 “ nestly intreating this favour, pleading his poverty, and
 “ professing the most unalterable attachment to his lord-
 “ ship’s person, friends, and cause; the second, acknow-
 “ ledging lord *Somers’s* kindness, in having recommended
 “ him; and concluding with the like solemn professions:
 “ not more than a year before *Swift* deserted lord
 “ *Somers*, and all his friends; writing avowedly on the
 “ contrary side, and (as he boasts himself) *libeling all*
 “ *the junto round*. I saw also the very letters which
 “ lord *Somers* wrote to lord *Wharton*; in which *Swift*
 “ is very heartily and warmly recommended; and I well
 “ remember the short and very smart answer lord *Wharton*:

* See above, p. 173, and *The Examiner*, No. 14.

† It is plain from several of his poems, “ he hated *Wharton*
 “ like a toad.”

R E M A R K S

ON THE

BISHOP'S PREFACE.

Printed in the Second Volume of *The Examiner*,
July 24, 1712.

Ecce iterum Crispinus!

THE Bishop of *St. Asaph's* famous Preface having been so much buffeted of late between advocates and opposers, I had a curiosity to inspect some of his other works. I sent to the booksellers in

"is said to have given; which, as I have observed, *Swift* never forgave or forgot; it was to this purpose.—
 "Oh, my lord, *We* must not prefer or countenance
 "these fellows; we have not character enough *ourselves*."
 —To the above authentic and very curious particulars (for which the Editor is indebted to a most respectable Friend *) we may add, that it is plain by *Swift's* letter to Archbishop *King*, Nov. 8, 1708, he then expected the appointment of chaplain to the lord lieutenant; and it is as plain by his next letter to the same prelate, Nov. 30, and by another of the same date to Dean *Sterne*, that he was not a little mortified at the disappointment; though he affected to pass it over slightly, and even asserted, "that he made no application for the post, for reasons
 "which he did not care to put in writing:" Dr. *Lambert* attained the chaplainship by the express interference of Archbishop *Tenison*, of several other bishops, and of lord *Godolphin* then treasurer. — *Swift* went to

* Dr. *Salter*, Master of *The Charterhouse*.

in *Duck Lane* and *Little Britain*, who returned me several of the Sermons which belonged to that Preface; among others, I took notice of that upon the

Ireland in *April*, 1709. Returning to *London*, *Sept.* 7, 1710, he found himself "equally careſſed by both parties;" by the Whigs, "as a ſort of bough for drowning men to lay hold of;" by the Tories, "as one diſcontented with the late men in power." He immediately attended lord *Godolphin*, and was diſgusted with that miniſter's reception of him, which was "altogether different from what he had ever received from any great man; ſhort, dry, and moroſe." (He had been otherwiſe treated in 1708 *.) Three days after, we find him "talking treaſon heartily againſt the Whigs, their baſeneſs and ingratitude; rolling reſentments in his mind, and framing ſchemes of revenge." On the 12th, he paid his firſt viſit to lord *Somers*; "with whom," he ſays, "I had much diſcourſe; but put him always off when he began to talk of lord *Wharton* in relation to me, till he urged it: then I ſaid, he knew I never expected any thing from lord *Wharton*; and that lord *Wharton* knew I underſtood it ſo. He ſaid, that he had written *twice* to lord *Wharton* about me, who both times ſaid nothing at all to that part of his letter." On the 30th, he laughs at "the lamentable conſeſſion the Whigs all make of their ill-uſage of him;" and on the 2d of *October*, ſays, "lord *Halifax* was the only Whig in *England* he loved, or had any good opinion of †." In the beginning of *November* appeared that ſevere portrait in the 11th *Examiner*, which illuſtrates *Swift's* Diſſertation on *Political Lying*. In *December* he publiſhed that ſtill ſeverer tract, "A ſhort character of *Thomas* earl of *Wharton* ‡;" and in the courſe of the following month, he tells *Stella*, "As for my old friends, if you mean the Whigs, I never ſee them; except lord *Halifax*, and him very ſeldom; but *Somers* never ſince the firſt viſit."

* See his letter of *June* 10, 1708, vol. XIV. and XXVII. 84.

† See particularly vol. XIX. p. 38.

‡ Vol. XIII. p. 264.

death of the duke of *Gloucester*°, which had a little Preface of its own, and was omitted, upon mature deliberation, when those Sermons were gathered up into a volume; though, considering the bulk, it could hardly be spared. It was a great master-piece of art in this admirable Author, to write such a Sermon as, by help of a Preface, would pass for a Tory Discourse in one reign, and, by omitting that Preface, would denominate him a Whig in another: thus, by changing the position, the picture represents either the Pope or the Devil, the Cardinal or the Fool. I confess, it was malicious in me, and what few others would have done, to rescue those Sermons out of their dust and oblivion; without which, if the Author had so pleased, they might have passed for new-preached as well as new-printed: neither would the former Preface have risen up in judgment to confound the latter. But, upon second thoughts, I cannot tell why this wilfully-forgotten Preface may not do the Reverend Author some service. It is to be presumed that the *Spectator* P pub-

° *William*, son to *George* prince of *Denmark*, by the princess *Anne*. This hopeful young prince died *July* 30, 1700.—In 1696, the day he was seven years old, he was installed knight of the Garter. In 1698, his household was settled; the earl of *Marlborough* being appointed his governor; and bishop *Burnet* his preceptor, who says, “he used all endeavours to excuse himself.”

P The *Spectator*, according to Mr. *Oldisworth*, revived the Bishop's new Preface, “to make it circulate through all *England* at the price of one penny, which it never would have done for half a crown. He hath been pleased to compound one of his papers of a postscript from *Abel Roper*, and a Preface from the bishop of *St. Asaph*. I suppose he reckons *Abel* to be the best writer on our side, and his lordship upon his: or does he mean a satire upon both, and think as I do, that they have each of them run into violent extremes, and the truth is to be found in the middle, directly between them?”

lished the last with that intent : why therefore should not my publishing the first be for the same end ? And I dare be confident, that the part I have chosen will do his lordship much more service ; for here it will be found, that this Prelate did, once in his life, think and write as became him ; and that, while he was a private clergyman, he could print a preface without fear of the hangman. I have chosen to set it at length ; to prevent what might be objected against me,

¶ The Bishop of *St. Asaph's* First Preface, to a Sermon preached upon the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*.

“ I give this Sermon up to the desire of a great many
 “ good people of the parishes of *St. Austin* and *St. Dun-*
 “ *stan in the West*, to whom I can deny nothing of this
 “ nature which they shall find reasonable to ask of me ;
 “ but not to their desire only, but also to the hopes I
 “ have, that, from something or other hinted at in it,
 “ other wise and virtuous people may be put upon con-
 “ sidering whereabouts we are ; and on contributing all
 “ that lies in them to the preventing whatever evils we
 “ may apprehend from the great loss we have sustained
 “ in the death of the most noble and most hopeful prince
 “ the duke of *Gloucester*. I know I have no other aims
 “ than these, in making this Sermon public ; and they
 “ who know me will, I believe, think so too : I under-
 “ take not therefore to defend the irregularity of some of
 “ my thoughts, nor the order in which they are ranged :
 “ they were produced in grief and deep concern ; and
 “ that I think may, in some sort, excuse them with ten-
 “ der and good-natured people. I am only careful of
 “ guarding against two sorts of men ; 1. Such as will
 “ needs call this great misfortune “ a judgement of God,”
 “ for what has passed amongst us. 2. Such as will cer-
 “ tainly try to make it one, as soon as ever they can.
 “ To the first, we must freely own, we have deserved
 “ God’s greatest judgements, but not for the cause they
 “ assign ; and freely own that this misfortune has the
 “ face

me, as an unfair representer, should I reserve any part of this admirable Discourse, as well as to imitate the judicious *Spectator*; though I fear I shall not have so good contributions from *our* party as that Author is said to have from another upon the like occasion; or, if I chance to give offence, be promised to have my losses made up to me, for my zeal in circulating Prefaces. Without any such deep and politic designs, I give it to the world out of meer good-nature, that they may find what conceptions the worthy Author has formerly had of things, when his business was yet undone^r; so to silence a *clamorous party*, who from the late Preface are too apt, how unjustly soever, to conclude his lordship's principles are not agreeable to his preferments.

In this excellent Preface, the worthy Author thought fit to charge the Fanaticks and Whigs, upon the duke of *Gloucester's* death, as people that would
 “ try to make it a judgement of God upon us for

“ face of one, and is as heavy as a judgement; and there-
 “ fore I hope all people will improve under it, and make
 “ as good use of it as if it were indeed a judgement.
 “ But, till they shall produce some certain and impartial
 “ rules by which they proceed in forming censures, and
 “ in applying them to nations or to private people, they
 “ will give us leave, I hope, to suspend. And to the
 “ second sort, who think to turn a kingdom into a com-
 “ monwealth, I can only say, that I hope the extent of
 “ our dominions, the number of our nobility, the honour
 “ of our gentry, the genius of our people, and the whole
 “ current of our laws, will always provide us with a
 “ ready answer to an impudent and clamorous faction.
 “ God, I hope, will evermore preserve us from a species
 “ of government, as ill fitted for our nation, as Popery
 “ is for our religion.”

^r The Sermon to which the Preface was prefixed was published the year before Dr. *Fleetwood's* promotion to the canonry of *Windsor*.

“ our sins, by turning the kingdom into a common-wealth.” The satire must certainly be determined to them; for neither the Tories nor Non-jurors were ever charged with such principles, but rather as carrying the regal authority too high, in asserting the divine right of kings. This species of government, which, the learned Prelate says, is “ as ill fitted for our nation as Popery is for our religion,” was by some people, it seems endeavoured to be brought in, whom he terms “ an impudent and clamorous faction.” Whether that “ impudent and clamorous faction” would really do all those things he charges them with, is by the Whigs denied, and charitable men may in part make a question: but that by this he did and could then only mean the Whigs, could be no question at all; since none else were ever charged with those crimes in these kingdoms; and they have always been so, though seldom indeed so heavily, unless by high-flying Tories or Jacobites. It seems, his lordship had dreadful apprehensions of what they would “ certainly do;” and begs of God “ evermore to preserve us from this species.” And surely he was the right; for that would be, indeed, “ giving us we know not what”—his lordship’s enemies “ will tell the rest with pleasure !”

Mr.

Mr. C O L L I N S'S
D I S C O U R S E
OF FREE-THINKING;
PUT INTO ENGLISH,
BY WAY OF ABSTRACT,
FOR THE USE OF THE POOR,
BY A FRIEND OF THE AUTHOR.

First printed in *January* 1712-13.

“ I came home at seven, and began a little whim,
“ which just came into my head, and will make a
“ three-penny pamphlet. It shall be finished in a
“ week ; and, if it succeeds, you shall know what it
“ is ; otherwise not.” *Journal to Stella, Jan. 16,*
1712-13.

“ I was to-day with my printer, to give him a
“ little pamphlet I have written ; but not politicks.
“ It will be out by *Monday* *.” *Ibid. Jan. 21.*

“ I hear there is now in the press *An Abstract of*
“ *Mr. Collins's Discourse on Free-thinking*. Whether it
“ be written by an enemy or a friend, my Author
“ does not say ; but in either case, if the writer
“ strips that adventurous piece of its disguise, and
“ leaves it naked and exposed in full light, he will
“ amply deserve a perusal, and cannot fail of being
“ useful or entertaining.” *Examiner, Jan. 23.*

“ My little pamphlet is out : it is not politicks.”
Journal to Stella, Jan. 25.

“ This discourse is a striking specimen of the
“ Dean's well-known talent for irony ; which, as he
“ somewhere says,

“ He was born to introduce,

“ To fashion brought, and taught its use.”

“ It must be owned, however, that this species of
“ rhetorical figure is too refined, at least in the pre-
“ sent instance, to be adapted to the apprehension
“ and discernment of the poor, for whom it is *pro-*
“ *fessdly* intended ; but perhaps that profession was
“ ironical too.”

KENRICK.

* It was advertised for sale, in *The Examiner, Tuesday,*
Jan. 26.

INTRODUCTION.

OUR Party^a having failed, by all their political arguments, to re-establiſh their power; the wiſe leaders have determined that the laſt and principal remedy ſhould be made uſe of, for opening the eyes of this blinded nation; and that a ſhort, but perfect, ſyſtem of their *divinity* ſhould be publiſhed, to which we are all of us ready to ſubſcribe, and which we lay down as a model, bearing a cloſe analogy to our ſchemes in religion. Crafty deſigning men, that they might keep the world in awe, have, in their ſeveral forms of government, placed a ſupreme Power on earth, to keep human kind in fear of being *hanged*; and a Supreme Power in Heaven, for fear of being *damned*. In order to cure mens apprehenſions of the former, ſeveral of our learned members have written many profound treatiſes on Anarchy; but a brief compleat body of Atheology ſeemed yet wanting, till this irrefragable Diſcourſe appeared. However, it ſo happens, that our ableſt brethren, in their elaborate diſquiſitions upon this ſubject, have written with ſo much caution, that ignorant unbelievers have edified very little by them. I grant that thoſe daring ſpirits, who firſt adventured

^a It is obvious that Dr. *Swift* is here writing in the aſſumed character of a Whig; and if in ſome few paſſages he may appear to *write too freely*, the blame muſt revert on the Author whoſe ſentiments he exhibits. A ſhort, but very valuable, ſpecimen of his own opinion on this ſubject, under the title of “Some Thoughts on Free-thinking, written in *England*, but left unfinished,” may be ſeen at the end of this Diſcourſe.

to write against the direct rules of the Gospel, the current of antiquity, the religion of the magistrate, and the laws of the land, had some measures to keep; and, particularly when they railed at religion, were in the right to use little artful disguises, by which a jury could only find them guilty of abusing Heathenism or Popery. But the *mystery* is now *revealed*, that there is no such thing as mystery or revelation; and though *our friends* are out of place and power, yet we may have so much confidence in the present Ministry, to be secure, that those, who suffer so many *free speeches* against their Sovereign and themselves to pass unpunished, will never resent our expressing the *freest thoughts* against their religion; but think with *Tiberius*, that, if there be a God, he is able enough to revenge any injuries done to himself, without expecting the Civil Power to interpose.

By these reflections I was brought to think, that the most ingenious Author^b of the Discourse upon Free-

^b *Anthony Collins*, esq; born June 21, 1676, was educated at *Eaton*, and removed to *King's College, Cambridge*, where he had for his tutor Mr. *Francis Hare*, afterward bishop of *Chichester*. Upon leaving college, he was entered a student in *The Temple*; but, not relishing the study of the law, applied himself to letters in general. In 1700, he published a tract called, "Several of the *London Cases* considered;" and cultivated and maintained a correspondence with Mr. *Locke* in 1703 and 1704. He entered, in 1707, into the controversy between Mr. *Dodwell* and Mr. *Clarke*, concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul; and published several treatises on that subject, on the side of Mr. *Dodwell*. In 1707, he also published "An Essay concerning the use of Reason in Propositions, the Evidence whereof depends on Human Testimony;" in 1709, "Priestcraft in Perfection; and the following year "Reflections, &c." on the last-mentioned treatise; which occasioned great and diligent inquiry into the subject,

MR. COLLINS'S DISCOURSE. 263

Free-thinking, in a letter to *Somebody*, Esq.^c, although he hath used less reserve than any of his predecessors, might yet have been more free and open. I considered, that several *well-willers* to infidelity might be discouraged by a shew of logick, and a

subject, and was reflected on by many both from the pulpit and the press. These were all answered by Mr. *Collins* (but not till the year 1724) in "An Historical and Critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, &c." (The whole state of this controversy may be seen in *Collier's Eccles. Hist.* part II. book vi. p. 486.)—In 1710, Mr. *Collins* published "A Vindication of the Divine Attributes," &c.; and, in 1711, went to *Holland*, where he became acquainted with *Le Clerc* and other great men. He returned to *England* in *November* that Year; and, in 1713, published his memorable "Discourse of Free-thinking, occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect called Free-thinkers." This made a great noise; and was attacked among others by Mr. *Hoadly*, and by Dr. *Bentley* under the name of *Phile-leutherus Lipsiensis*; and was at the same time exposed by the admirable irony of Dr. *Swift*.—Whilst all parties exerted their zeal against it in *England*, the Author went abroad; and was treated with great civility by all sorts of people, Priests, Jesuits, Calvinists, Arminians, &c. He went from *Holland* to *Flanders*, with a design of visiting *France* and *Italy*; but was recalled by the sudden death of a near relation. In 1715, he published "A Philosophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty;" and retired that year into *Essex*, for which county he was chosen treasurer in 1718, an office in which his strict integrity gained him much reputation. In 1724, he published "A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Faith," which produced a number of answers; as did his "Scheme of Literal Prophecy," which appeared in 1727. After having been some years in a declining state of health, and severely afflicted with the stone, he died *Dec.* 13, 1729.

^c Mr. *Collins* called his Discourse, "A Letter to
"***** Esq."

multi-

multiplicity of quotations, scattered through his book; which to understandings of that size might carry an appearance of something like *book-learning*, and consequently fright them from reading for their improvement. I could see no reason why these great discoveries should be hid from our youth of quality, who frequent *White's* and *Tom's*; why they should not be adapted to the capacities of the *Kit-Cat* and *Hanover*^d Clubs, who might then be able to read lectures on them to their several Toasts: and it will be allowed on all hands, that nothing can sooner help to restore our abdicated cause, than a firm universal belief of the principles laid down by this sublime Author: for I am sensible that nothing would more contribute to "the continuance of the War," and the restoration of the late Ministry, than to have the doctrines delivered in this treasure well infused into the people. I have therefore compiled them into the following Abstract, wherein I have adhered to the very words of our Author; only adding some few explanations of my own, where the terms happen to be too learned, and consequently a little beyond the comprehension of those for whom the work was principally intended, I mean the nobility and gentry of our party: after which, I hope, it will be impossible for the malice of a *Jacobite*, high-flying, priest-ridden faction, to misrepresent us. The few additions I have made are for no other use than to help the transition, which could not otherwise be kept in an Abstract: but I have not presumed to advance any thing of my own; which besides would be needless

^d See an account of the first of these clubs, p. 248. The latter was composed of noblemen of the first quality, and officers of the army, affectionate and zealous for the succession of the crown in the illustrious family which now adorns it.

to an Author who has so fully handled and demonstrated every particular. I shall only add, that though this Writer, when he speaks of Priests, desires chiefly to be understood to mean the *English* Clergy; yet he includes all Priests whatsoever, except the antient and modern *Heathens*, the *Turks*, *Quakers*, and *Socinians*.

THE LETTER.

S I R,

I Send you this apology for Free-thinking ^e without the least hopes of doing good, but purely to comply with your request; for those truths which nobody can deny, will do no good to those who deny them. The Clergy, who are so impudent to teach the people the doctrines of Faith, are all either cunning knaves or mad fools; for none but artificial designing men ^f, and crackt-brained enthusiasts, presume to be guides to others in matters of speculation, which all the doctrines of Christianity are; and whoever has a mind to learn the Christian Religion, naturally chuses such knaves and fools to teach them. Now the Bible ^g, which contains the precepts of the Priests' Religion, is the most difficult book in the world to be understood: it requires a thorough knowledge ^h in Natural, Civil, Ecclesiastical History, Law, Husbandry, Sailing, Physick, Pharmacy, Ma-

^e See Mr. *Collins's* Discourse, p. 3.

^f P. 4.

^g P. 10. ^h P. 11, 12.

thematically, Metaphysicks, Ethicks, and every thing else that can be named: and every body who believes it, ought to understand it, and must do so by force of his own *free-thinking*, without any guide or instructor.

How can a man *think* at all, if he does not *think freely* ⁱ? A man who does not eat and drink *freely*, does not eat and drink at all. Why may not I be denied the liberty of *free-seeing*, as well as *free-thinking*? Yet nobody pretends, that the first is unlawful; for a cat may look on a king: though you be near-sighted, or have weak or sore eyes, or are blind, you may be a *free-seer*; you ought to see for yourself, and not trust to a guide to chuse the colour of your stockings, or save you from falling into a ditch.

In like manner, there ought to be no restraint at all on *thinking freely* upon any proposition, however impious or absurd. There is not the least hurt in the wickedest thoughts, provided they be *free*; nor in telling those thoughts to every body, and endeavouring to convince the world of them; for all this is included in the doctrine of *Free-thinking*, as I shall plainly shew you in what follows; and therefore you are all along to understand the word *Free-thinking* in this sense.

If you are apt to be afraid of the Devil, *think freely* of him, and you destroy him and his kingdom ^k. *Free-thinking* has done him more mischief than all the Clergy in the world ever could do; they *believe in the Devil*, they have an *interest* in him, and therefore are the great supports of his kingdom. The Devil was in the States General, before they began to be *Free-thinkers* ^l: for *England* and *Holland* were formerly the Christian territories of the Devil: I told you how he left *Holland*; and *Free-thinking*

ⁱ Collins, p. 15.

^k P. 27.

^l P. 28.

and

and the Revolution banished him from *England*; I defy all the Clergy to shew me when they ever had such success against him. My meaning is, that to *think freely* of the Devil, is to *think* there is no Devil at all; and he that *thinks so*, the Devil is in him if he be afraid of the Devil.

But, within these two or three years, the Devil has come into *England* again; and Dr. *Sacheverell* has given him commission to appear in the shape of a cat, and carry old women about upon broomsticks: and the Devil has now so many "Ministers ordained to his service," that they have rendered *Free-thinking* odious, and nothing but the second coming of *Christ* can restore it.

The Priests tell me, I am to believe the Bible^m; but *Free-thinking* tells me otherwise in many particulars. The Bible says, the *Jews* were a nation favoured by God; but I, who am a *Free-thinker*, say, that cannot be, because the *Jews* lived in a corner of the earth, and *Free-thinking* makes it clear that those who live in corners cannot be favourites of God. The New Testament all along asserts the Truth of Christianity; but *Free-thinking* denies it: because Christianity was communicated but to a few; and whatever is communicated but to a few, cannot be true; for that is like *whispering*, and the Proverb says, "that there is no whispering without lying."

Here is a society in *London*ⁿ for propagating *Free-thinking* throughout the world, encouraged and supported by the Queen and many others. You say, perhaps, it is for propagating the Gospel. Do you think the Missionaries we send will tell the Heathens that they must not *think freely*? No, surely; why then, it is manifest, those Missionaries must be *Free-thinkers*, and make the Heathens so too. But why should not the King of *Siam*^o, whose religion is heathenism and idolatry, send over a parcel of his

^m Collins, p. 39.

ⁿ P. 41.

^o P. 42.

Priests to convert us to his Church, as well as we send Missionaries there? Both projects are exactly of a piece, and equally reasonable; and if those heathen priests were here, it would be our duty to hearken to them, and *think freely* whether *they* may not be in the right rather than we. I heartily wish a detachment of such divines as Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smalridge P, Dr. Swift, Dr. Sacheverell, and some others q,

P Dr. George Smalridge, born about 1666, was elected from Westminster to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1682; made prebendary of Lichfield in 1693; and soon after canon of Christ Church, and dean of Carlisle. In 1713, he was made dean of Christ Church, and the year following bishop of Bristol. Upon the accession of King George I. he was appointed lord almoner; but was removed from that post in 1715. He died Sept. 27, 1719.—Sixty of his Sermons were printed in folio, 1726; which shew him to have been a polite writer. He had published some works of merit in his life-time; particularly “Animadversions on a piece upon Church Government,” so early as 1687; and a Latin poem, intituled, “Auctio Davisiana, Oxonii habita per Gul. Cooper & Edw. Millington, Bibliopolas Londinenses,” 1689.—“In Dr. Smalridge are reconciled all the beauties of language to the severity of argument: his method and reasoning are absolute upon the points he treats of: his style is clear and elegant, just and manly: he ennobleth his classic learning, and raiseth his eloquence by the majesty and beauty of the Scripture language.” Felton.

q Collins, p. 43; who adds Stubbs*, Higgins†, and Milbourne‡, to the groupe; names which our Author seems not to have approved being joined with.

* Philip Stubbs, archdeacon of St. Alban's, chaplain to Greenwich Hospital, rector of St. James, Garlick Hithe, &c.

† Francis Higgins, M. A.; of whom, see vol. XIX. p. 102.

‡ Luke Milbourne, M. A. rector of St. Ethelburga's, author of a “Poetical Translation of the Psalms, 1698;” of a volume, called “Notes on Dryden's Virgil, 1698;” of “Tom of Bedlam's Answer to Hoare, &c.” He is frequently coupled with Blackmore by Dryden in his Poems; and by Pope in “The Art of Criticism;” and is mentioned in *The Dunciad*. He died April 15, 1720. who

were sent every year to the furthest part of the heathen world; and that we had a cargo of their Priests in return, who would spread *Free-thinking* among us. Then the war would go on, the late Ministry be restored, and faction cease; which our Priests inflame by haranguing upon texts, and falsely call that "preaching the Gospel."

I have another project in my head, which ought to be put in execution, in order to make us *Free-thinkers*. It is a great hardship and injustice, that our Priests must not be disturbed while they are prating in their pulpit. For example^s: Why should not *William Penn*^t the Quaker, or any *Anabaptist*,
Papist,

^s *Collins*, p. 45.

^t Well known among the Quakers, as a preacher and a writer; and throughout the world, as the founder and legislator of the colony of *Pennsylvania*. He had both great and amiable qualities; and was no stranger to the essentials of good-breeding, though too stubborn to yield to the forms of it. He was born *Oct.* 14, 1644; was educated at *Chigwell*; and in 1660 was entered a gentleman commoner of *Christ Church, Oxford*, whence in less than two years he was expelled for non-conformity. To divert his attention from an over-attachment to religion, he was sent by his father into *France*; and on his return was admitted of *Lincoln's Inn*, where he studied the law till the plague broke out in 1665. He was sent to *Ireland* in 1666, to manage a considerable estate there; and it appears from *Wood, Ath. Oxon.* II. 1050, that "he was "convinced of the simplicity and self-denial of the way "of the people called Quakers at the city of *Cork*, where "he heard one *Tho. Low*, some time a laick of *Oxon* " (but then a noted Quaker) preach, *An.* 1667." And in 1668, he became himself a preacher; and published "The Sandy Foundation shaken," as a vindication of his principles; for which he underwent seven months imprisonment in *The Tower*, where he wrote many pious tracts. In 1676 he became one of the proprietors of *New Jersey*; and in 1681 the province which bears his name was granted to him by *Charles II.* in consideration

Papist, Muggletonian, Jew, or Sweet-singer, have liberty to come into *St. Paul's Church*, in the midst of divine service, and endeavour to convert first the Aldermen, then the Preacher and Singing-men? or pray, why might not poor Mr. *Whiston*^u, who denies the Divinity of Christ, be allowed to come into the Lower House of Convocation, and convert the Clergy? But, alas! we are over-run with such false notions, that, if *Penn* or *Whiston* should do their duty, they would be reckoned fanaticks, and disturbers of the Holy Synod, although they have as good a title to it as *St. Paul* had to go into the synagogues of the *Jews*; and their authority is full as divine as his.

Christ himself commands us to be *Free-thinkers*; for he bids us search the Scriptures, and take heed what and whom we hear: by which he plainly warns us, not to believe our Bishops and Clergy^w; for *Jesus Christ*, when he considered that all the *Jewish* and Heathen Priests, whose religion he came to abo-

of the services of his father, and the debts that were due to him at his decease. On the accession of *Queen Anne*, he was a great favourite, and was often at court. *Dr. Swift* mentions him to *Stella*, *Jan. 15, 1711-12*, as waiting on the duke of *Ormond*, "at the head of his brethren, to thank the duke for his kindness to their people in *Ireland*." He died *July 30, 1718*. A large account of this legislator and his writings may be seen in the place of *Wood* above referred to.

^u This conscientious and learned Divine is well known by his numerous writings, and by the "Memoirs of his own Life," written by himself, and published in 1749. We shall only therefore observe, that he died, in his 85th year, *Aug. 22, 1752*.—He has been humourously bantered in the fifth volume of *Dr. Swift's Works*, in a treatise called "A true and faithful Narrative of what passed in *London* during the general Consternation of all Ranks and Degrees of Mankind."

^w *Collins*, p. 46.

lish, were his enemies, rightly concluded that those appointed by him to preach his own Gospel would probably be so too; and could not be secure that any sett of Priests, of the faith he delivered, would ever be otherwise: therefore it is fully demonstrated that the Clergy of the Church of *England* are mortal enemies to *Christ*, and ought not to be believed.

But, without the privilege of *Free-thinking**, how is it possible to know which is the right Scripture? Here are perhaps twenty sorts of Scriptures in the several parts of the world; and every sett of Priests contends that their Scripture is the true one. The *Indian Bramins* have a book of Scripture called the *Shaster*; the *Persees* their *Zundivastaw*; the *Bonzes* in *China* have theirs, written by the Disciples of *Fo-he*, whom they call "God and Saviour of the world," "who was born to teach the way of salvation, and "to give satisfaction for all men's sins:" which, you see, is directly the same with what our Priests pretend of *Christ*. And must we not *think freely*, to find out which are in the right, whether the Bishops or the *Bonzes*? But the *Talapoins*, or Heathen Clergy of *Siam*, approach yet nearer to the system of our Priests; they have a book of Scripture written by *Sommonocodam*, who, the *Siamese* say, was "born of "a virgin," and was "the God expected by the "universe;" just as our Priests tell us, that *Jesus Christ* was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and was the Messiah so long expected. The *Turkish* Priests, or *Dervises*, have their Scripture, which they call the *Alcoran*. The *Jews* have the Old Testament for their Scripture; and the *Christians* have both the Old and the New. Now, among all these Scriptures, there cannot above one be right; and how is it possible to know which is that, without reading them all, and then *thinking freely*, every one of us for our-

* Collins, p. 52.

selves, without following the advice or instruction of any guide, before we venture to chuse? The Parliament ought to be at the charge of finding a sufficient number of these Scriptures for every one of her Majesty's subjects; for there are twenty to one against us, that we may be in the wrong: but a great deal of *Free-thinking* will at last set us all right, and every one will adhere to the Scripture he likes best; by which means, religion, peace, and wealth, will be for ever secured in her Majesty's realms.

And it is the more necessary that the good people of *England* should have liberty to chuse some other Scripture, because all Christian Priests differ so much about the copies of theirs, and about the various readings of the several manuscripts, which quite destroys the authority of the Bible: for what authority can a book pretend to, where there are various readings? And for this reason, it is manifest that no man can know the opinions of *Aristotle* or *Plato*, or believe the facts related by *Thucydides* or *Livy*, or be pleased with the poetry of *Homer* and *Virgil*; all which books are utterly useless, upon account of their various readings. Some books of Scripture are said to be lost; and this utterly destroys the credit of those that are left: some we reject, which the *Africans* and *Copticks* receive; and why may we not *think freely*, and reject the rest? Some think the Scriptures wholly inspired, some partly; and some not at all. Now this is just the very case of the *Bramins*, *Persees*, *Bonzes*, *Talapoins*, *Dervises*, *Rabbi's*, and all other Priests, who build their religion upon books, as our Priests do upon their Bibles. They all equally differ about the copies, various readings, and inspirations, of their several Scriptures; and God

y *Collins*, p. 54.—Dr. *Swift* has set this argument in a light so exquisitely ridiculous, that it must certainly have great weight even on an advocate for Deism.

knows

knows which are in the right: *Free-thinking* alone can determine it.

It would be endless^z to shew in how many particulars the Priests of the Heathen and Christian Churches differ about the meaning even of those Scriptures which they universally receive as sacred. But, to avoid prolixity, I shall confine myself to the different opinions among the Priests of the Church of *England*; and here only give you a specimen, because even these are too many to be enumerated.

I have found out a bishop^a (though indeed his opinions are condemned by all his brethren) who allows the Scriptures to be so difficult, that God has left them rather as a trial of our industry than a repository of our faith, and furniture of Creeds and articles of Belief; with several other admirable schemes of *Free-thinking*, which you may consult at your leisure.

The doctrine of the Trinity^b is the most fundamental point of the whole Christian Religion. Nothing is more easy to a *Free-thinker*: yet what different notions of it do the *English* Priests pretend to deduce from Scripture, explaining it by "specific unities, eternal modes of subsistence," and the like unintelligible jargon! Nay, it is a question whether this doctrine be fundamental or no; for though Dr. South^c and Bishop Bull^d affirm it, yet Bishop Taylor

^z Collins, p. 56.

^a P. 57.

^b P. 61.—See the Dean's admirable Sermon.

^c Dr. Robert South was born in 1633, educated at *Westminster*, and elected to *Christ Church, Oxford*, in 1651. He was chosen public orator in 1660; in *March 1663*, was installed prebendary of *Westminster*; and in 1670, made canon of *Christ Church*. In 1693, he entered into the well-known dispute with Dr. *William Sherlock*, on the Trinity; in which both incurred some censure from the unprejudiced. He died *July 8, 1716*. His Sermons have been often printed, in six volumes, 8vo; and his posthumous works in 1717.—"So very beautiful are his

Taylor^e and *Dr. Wallis*^f deny it. And that excellent *Free-thinking* Prelate Bishop *Taylor* observes, that
Athana-

“ writings,” says *Mr. Felton*, “ that in them we find all
 “ the riches of the most luxuriant fancy corrected, and
 “ disposed by the most absolute judgement : elegance and
 “ exactness meet in all parts of his works ; and at the
 “ same time, when his argument requires it, we have the
 “ closeness and severity of the schools ; the learning
 “ and researches of a commentator, but with the life and
 “ spirit of an author. There is one sort of wit, which is
 “ judged too light, another too bitter and cruel, for the
 “ pulpit ; and what is disputed of *Horace* may be truly
 “ decided of him, that his discourses are both sermons
 “ and fatires together. He was the brightest genius, the
 “ soundest scholar, the most consummate divine, the last
 “ age hath bred : his faults were purely humane, derived
 “ from his temper and constitution, and occasioned by the
 “ provocations he had received from the villainy and hy-
 “ pocrify of those godly times and people, which he
 “ never mentioneth without a lash of his resentment.”

^d *Dr. George Bull* was born *March 25, 1634* ; and entered of *Exeter College, Oxford, July 10, 1648*. He was made rector of *Suddington St. Mary* in 1658 ; prebendary of *Gloucester* in 1675 ; archdeacon of *Landaff* in 1685 ; and bishop of *St. David's* *Apr. 29, 1705*. He died *Feb. 17, 1709*. All his works were published, with an account of his life, by his learned and pious friend *Mr. Nelson*.

^e *Dr. Jeremy Taylor* was born at *Cambridge*, the beginning of the seventeenth century. His distinguished parts soon introduced him to *Abp. Laud*, who appointed him one of his chaplains, and gave him the living of *Uppingham* in *Rutland*. On the decline of the royal cause, he retired into *Wales*, where he kept school, and in that retirement wrote most of his valuable works. He was soon after the Restoration made bishop of *Down and Connor*, and consecrated *Feb. 19, 1660-1*. He was translated to *Dromore, June 21, 1661* ; and died *Aug. 13, 1667*.—This excellent prelate was not only one of the greatest divines, but also one of the completest characters, of his age. His person was uncommonly beautiful, his manners polite,
 his

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Athanasius's example was followed with too much greediness; by which means it has happened, that the greater number of our Priests are in that sentiment, and think it necessary to believe the Trinity and Incarnation of *Christ*.

Our Priests likewise dispute several circumstances about the resurrection of the dead, the nature of our bodies after the resurrection, and in what manner they shall be united to our souls. They also attack one another "very weakly, with great vigour," about predestination. And it is certainly true (for

his conversation sprightly and engaging, and his voice harmonious. He united, in a high degree, the powers of invention, memory, and judgement; his learning was various, almost universal; and his piety was as unaffected as it was extraordinary. His practical, controversial, and casuistical writings are, in their several kinds, excellent; and "answer all the purposes of a Christian." His Sermons appear to the least advantage at present; though they must be allowed to be good for the time in which they were written. A brilliancy of imagination appears in all his writings; but his "*Ductor Dubitantium*" is a signal proof of his judgement. His works have been printed in four, and also in six volumes in folio, besides several volumes of devotions in octavo and duodecimo. His Books on "*Holy Living*," and on "*Holy Dying*," and his "*Golden Grove*," have passed through many editions. See *Granger*.

^f Dr. *John Wallis*, born Nov. 23, 1616, was educated at *Emanuel College, Cambridge*, and was chosen fellow of *Queen's* about 1640. He was one of the earliest members of that learned body which gave birth to the Royal Society; and was appointed *Savilian* professor of geometry at *Oxford*, in 1649, by the Parliamentarians. At the Restoration, he met with great respect from King *Charles II*; was continued professor, and appointed king's chaplain. His works were collected by the curators of the press at *Oxford* in 1699, and published in three volumes folio. He died Oct. 28, 1703.

g *Collins*, p. 65.

Bishop

Bishop Taylor and Mr. Whiston the Socinian say so), that all Churches in prosperity alter their doctrines every age, and are neither satisfied with themselves or their own confessions; neither does any Clergymen of sense believe the Thirty-nine Articles.

Our Priests^h differ about the eternity of hell-torments. The famous Dr. Henry Moreⁱ, and the most pious and rational of all Priests Dr. Tillotson^k (both

^h Collins, p. 68.

ⁱ Dr. Henry More, born Oct. 12, 1614, was bred in the principles of a Calvinist; which he discarded at Eaton School, whence he removed in 1630 to Christ's College, in Cambridge. His highest church-preferment was a prebend of Gloucester, which he accepted in 1675; but soon resigned, to devote himself to the retirement of a college, where he died Sept. 1, 1687. He was esteemed one of the greatest divines and philosophers, and was certainly one of the best men, of his time. He had a good deal of natural enthusiasm; and was fired, or rather enraptured, with the Platonic philosophy. His works, which were formerly much read, have been long neglected. Sir Samuel Garth condemns them in the lump: speaking of Dr. Tyson's library, he says,

“ And hither, rescued from the grocer's, come

“ More's works^{*} entire, and endless reams of Blome[†].”

He would at least (says Mr. Granger) have excepted his excellent “Book of Ethics,” if he had been acquainted with the book.—See *Spectator*, No 86.

^k Dr. John Tillotson, born in 1630, was educated in the principles of Puritanism. His first office in the church

^{*} His Theological Works were printed in one vol. folio, 1708; his Philosophical Works in another, 1712.

[†] Richard Blome, who, at least, must claim the merit of industry, published several folio volumes, in History, Geography, and Philosophy, most of them ornamented with abundance of sculptures; particularly “The Gentleman's Recreation, 1686;” and “An entire body of Philosophy, according to the Principles of the famous Renate Descartes, 1694.” He was a notorious plagiarist, yet obtained large subscriptions for his works.

WAS

(both *Free-thinkers*), believe them to be not eternal. They differ about keeping the Sabbath, the divine right of Episcopacy, and the doctrine of Original Sin; which is the foundation of the whole Christian Religion; for, if men are not liable to be damned for *Adam's* sin, the Christian Religion is an imposture: yet this is now disputed among them; so is Lay-baptism: so was formerly the lawfulness of Usury; but now the Priests are common Stock-jobbers, Attornies, and Scriveners. In short, there is no end of disputing among Priests; and therefore I conclude, that there ought to be no such thing in the world as Priests, Teachers, or Guides, for instructing ignorant people in religion; but that every man ought to *think freely* for himself.

I will tell you my meaning in all this. The Priests dispute every point in the Christian Religion, as well as almost every text in the Bible; and the force of my argument lies here, that whatever point is disputed by one or two Divines, however condemned by the Church, not only that particular point, but the whole article to which it relates, may lawfully be received or rejected by any *Free-thinker*. For instance, suppose *More* and *Tillotson* deny the eternity of Hell-torments, a *Free-thinker* may deny all future

was the curacy of *Chestnut* in *Hertfordshire*, in 1661; whence he passed through several preferments to the deanry of *Canterbury* in 1672. He was appointed clerk of the closet to the king in *March* 1689, and dean of *St. Paul's* in *December*; and was consecrated archbishop of *Canterbury* *May* 31, 1691. He published, in 1693, Four Sermons "on the Divinity and Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour," to remove the imputation of Socinianism, which had long been unjustly fixed upon him. He died *Nov.* 23, 1694, aged 64. His Sermons have been printed in 3 folio volumes*; to the last edition of them is prefixed a Life compiled by Dr. *Birch*.

* See his literary character in *Felton*, p. 181.

punishments whatsoever. The Priests dispute about explaining the Trinity; therefore a *Free-thinker* may reject one or two, or the whole three Persons; at least, he may reject Christianity, because the Trinity is the most fundamental doctrine of that Religion. So I affirm Original Sin, and that men are liable to be damned for *Adam's Sin*, to be the foundation of the whole Christian Religion; but this point was formerly, and is now, disputed: therefore a *Free-thinker* may deny the whole. And I cannot help giving you one further direction, how I insinuate all along, that the wisest *Free-thinking* Priests, whom you may distinguish by the epithets I bestow on them, were those who differed most from the generality of their brethren.

But, besides, the conduct of our Priests¹ in many other points makes *Free-thinking* unavoidable; for some of them own, that the doctrines of the Church are contradictory to one another, as well as to reason: which I thus prove: Dr. Sacheverell says, in his Speech at his Trial, "That, by abandoning Passive Obedience, we must render ourselves the most inconsistent Church in the world;" *ergo*, there must have been a great many inconsistencies and contradictory doctrines in the Church before. Dr. South describes the Incarnation of *Christ* as an astonishing mystery, impossible to be conceived by man's reason^m; *ergo*, it is contradictory to itself and to reason, and ought to be exploded by all *Free-thinkers*.

Another instance of the Priests conductⁿ, which multiplies *Free-thinkers*, is their acknowledgement of abuses, defects, and false doctrines, in the Church; particularly that of eating Black Pudding, which is so plainly forbid in the Old and New Testament, that I wonder those who pretend to believe a syllable

¹ Collins, p. 76.

^m P. 77.

ⁿ P. 79.

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in either will presume to taste it. Why should I mention^o the want of discipline, and of a side-board at the altar, with complaints of other great abuses and defects made by some of the Priests, which no man can *think* on without *Free-thinking*, and consequently rejecting Christianity?

When I see an honest *Free-thinking* Bishop endeavour to destroy the power and privileges of the Church, and Dr. *Atterbury* angry with him for it, and calling it "dirty work;" what can I conclude, by virtue of being a *Free-thinker*, but that Christianity is all a cheat?

Mr. *Whiston* has published several Tracts, wherein he absolutely denies the Divinity of *Christ*⁹. A Bishop tells him, "Sir, in any matter where you have the Church's judgement against you, you should be careful not to break the peace of the Church, by writing against it, though you are sure you are in the right." Now my opinion is directly contrary; and I affirm, that, if ten thousand *Free-thinkers* thought differently from the received doctrine, and from each other, they would be all in duty bound to publish their thoughts, provided they were all sure of being in the right, though it broke the peace of the Church and State ten thousand times.

And here I must take leave to tell you, although you cannot but have perceived it from what I have already said, and shall be still more amply convinced by what is to follow, that *Free-thinking* signifies nothing, without *Free-speaking* and *Free-writing*. It is the indispensable duty of a *Free-thinker*, to endeavour forcing all the world to *think* as he does, and by that means make them *Free-thinkers* too. You are also to understand, that I allow no man to be a *Free-thinker*,

• *Collins*, p. 80.

• P. 82.

• P. 83. This argument is pleasantly retorted.

any further than as he differs from the received doctrines of Religion. Where a man falls-in, though by perfect chance, with what is generally believed, he is in that point a confined and limited *Thinker*; and you shall see by-and-by, that I celebrate those for the noblest *Free-thinkers*, in every age, who differed from the Religion of their countries in the most fundamental points, and especially in those which bear any analogy to the chief fundamentals of Religion among us.

Another trick of the Priests is ^r, to charge all men with Atheism who have more wit than themselves; which therefore I expect will be my case, for writing this Discourse. This is what makes them so implacable against Mr. ^s *Gildon*, Dr. *Tindal* ^t, Mr. *Toland*,

^r *Collins*, p. 85.

^s *Charles Gildon* was born and educated at *Gillingham*, near *Shaftesbury*, *Dorsetshire*. *Richard*, his father, who was of the Society of *Gray's Inn* and a zealous Roman Catholic, dying when his son was but nine years old, *Charles* was sent by his relations to the *Englisch* College at *Douay*, in order to be made a priest; but, quitting the superstitions of the church of *Rome* (from conviction, as he himself said, on reading a Discourse by Dr. *Tillotson* on Transubstantiation), ran into the extremes of Infidelity and Deism. A volume of his "Miscellaneous Letters" was printed in 1694. He was author of several dramatic Pieces, most of which were unsuccessful; and of some poetical and other performances. He has been ranked among the Deistical Writers from having ushered into the world "The Oracles of Reason," written by *Charles Blount*, esq. and published by Mr. *Gildon* in 1693, after that author's unhappy end, with a pompous elogium, and a Preface in defence of self-murder. He was afterward, as Dr. *Leland* candidly observes (vol. I. p. 43), "convinced of his error; of which he gave a remarkable proof, in a good book, which he published in 1705, intituled, "The Deist's Manual, or a Rational Enquiry into the Christian Religion;" the greatest part of which

is

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*Toland**, and myself; and when they call us *Wits* Atheists, it provokes us to be *Free-thinkers*.

Again :

" is taken up in vindicating the doctrines of the existence and attributes of God, his providence and government of the world, the immortality of the soul, and a future state."—We are told, in the notes on the *Dunciad*, that " he signalized himself as a critic *, having written some very bad plays; abused Mr. *Pope* very scandalously in an anonymous pamphlet of the Life of Mr. *Wycheley*, printed by *Curll*;" in another, called " *The New Rehearsal*;" in a third, intitled, " *The Complete Art of English Poetry*," in two volumes; and others." He died Jan. 12, 1723-4.

* Dr. *Matthew Tindal* †, born about 1637, became a commoner of *Lincoln College, Oxford*, in 1652; removed to *Exeter College* in 1672; and was elected fellow of *All Souls* in 1676. In the reign of *James II*, he declared himself a *Roman Catholic*, but afterward renounced that religion. He greatly distinguished himself by two famous works. First, " *The Rights of the Christian Church*," asserted †, in 1706. This book, as was expected, made a great noise, and met with many answerers; among others, it exercised the pen of Dr. *Swift*, whose judicious Remarks on it are printed in the Thirteenth Volume of his Works. The other famous work of Dr. *Tindal* was, " *Christianity as old as the Creation*," published in 1730. The first was written against the Church, this against Revelation; so that, if this Author's principles and designs had taken place, his plan would have been completed by the destruction of both. Besides these two important

* " Hence *Gillon* raves, that raven of the pit,

" Who thrives upon the carcases of Wit."

Young, Love of Fame, vii. 142.

† " Who virtue and the church alike disowns,

" Thinks this but words, and that but bricks and stones."

Pope.

† He published a defence of it in 1709; which, with the book itself, the house of commons ordered to be burnt by the hangman, March 25, 1710.

works,

Again: The Priests ^w cannot agree *when* their Scripture was written. They differ about the number of Canonical Books, and the various readings. Now those few among us who understand *Latin* are careful to tell this to our Disciples, who presently fall a *Free-thinking*, that the Bible is a book not to be depended upon in any thing at all.

There is another thing ^x, that mightily spreads *Free-thinking*, which I believe you would hardly guess. The Priests have got a way of late of writing Books against *Free-thinking*; I mean, Treatises in Dialogue, where they introduce Atheists, Deists, Scepticks, and Socinians, offering their several arguments. Now these *Free-thinkers* are too hard for the Priests themselves in their own Books. And how can it be otherwise? For, if the arguments usually offered by Atheists are fairly represented in these

works, he wrote a great number of smaller pieces on civil and religious liberty. He died in *August* 1733; and though he was about 73 years of age when he published his "Christianity as old as the Creation," yet he left a second volume of that work in manuscript, by way of reply to all his answerers; the publication of which was prevented by Bp. *Gibson*. He was indisputably a man of great reasoning powers, and very sufficient learning; and Christians might have wished with reason, that he had employed his talents to a better purpose.

^u *John Toland* was born in the North of *Ireland*, *Nov.* 30, 1670. He was educated at *Glasgow*, and was soon very zealous against Popery, the profession he was bred in. His first work of any note was "Christianity not mysterious," in 1696; and from that time till his death, which happened *March* 11, 1721-2, he published an amazing number of treatises on various subjects, chiefly theological or political. He was a man of most uncommon abilities, and perhaps the most learned of all the advocates for Infidelity; but, his system being Atheism, he was unhappily led to employ his parts and learning very much to the prejudice of society.

^w *Collins*, p. 86.

^x P. 91.

Books, they must needs convert every body that reads them ; because Atheists, Deists, Scepticks, and Socinians, have certainly better arguments to maintain their opinions, than any the Priests can produce to maintain the contrary.

Mr. Creech, a Priest, translated *Lucretius* into *English*, which is a compleat system of Atheism ; and several young Students, who were afterwards Priests, wrote verses in praise of this Translation. The arguments against Providence in that Book are so strong, that they have added mightily to the number of *Free-thinkers*.

What should I mention y the pious cheats of the Priests, who in the New Testament translate the word *Ecclesia* sometimes the *Church*, and sometimes the *Congregation* ; and *Episcopus*, sometimes a *Bishop*, and sometimes an *Overseer* ? A Priest, translating a Book, left out a whole passage that reflected on the King ; by which he was an enemy to *political Free-thinking*, a most considerable branch of our system. Another Priest, translating a Book of Travels, left out a lying Miracle, out of mere malice z, to conceal an argument for *Free-thinking*. In short, these frauds are very common in all Books which are published by Priests. But, however, I love to excuse them a whenever I can : and as to this accusation, they may plead the authority of the ancient Fathers of the Church, for forgery, corruption, and mangling of Authors, with more reason than for any of their Articles of Faith. St. *Jerom*, St. *Hilary*, *Eusebius Vercellensis*, *Victorinus*, and several others, were all guilty of arrant forgery and corruption : for, when they translated the Works of several *Free-thinkers*, whom they called Hereticks, they omitted all their Heresies or *Free-thinkings*, and had the impudence to own it to the world.

y Collins, p. 92.

z P. 95.

a P. 96.

From these many notorious instances of the Priests' conduct ^b, I conclude, they are not to be relied on in any one thing relating to Religion; but that every man must *think freely* for himself.

But to this it may be objected, that the bulk of mankind is as well qualified for *flying* as *thinking*; and if every man thought it his duty to *think freely*, and trouble his neighbour with his thoughts (which is an essential part of *Free-thinking*), it would make wild work in the world. I answer; whoever cannot *think freely*, may let it alone if he pleases, by virtue of his right to *think freely*; that is to say, if such a man *freely thinks* that he cannot *think freely*, of which every man is a sufficient judge, why then he need not *think freely* unless he *thinks* fit.

Besides, if the bulk of mankind cannot *think freely* in matters of speculation, as the being of a God, the immortality of the soul, &c.; why then, *Free-thinking* is indeed no duty: but then the Priests must allow, that men are not concerned to believe whether there is a God or no. But still those who are disposed to *think freely*, may *think freely* if they please.

It is again objected ^c, that *Free-thinking* will produce endless divisions in opinion, and by consequence disorder society. To which I answer,

When every single man comes to have a different opinion every day from the whole world and from himself, by virtue of *Free-thinking*, and thinks it his duty to convert every man to his own *Free-thinking* (as all we *Free-thinkers* do); how can that possibly create so great a diversity of opinions, as to have a sett of Priests agree among themselves to teach the same opinions in their several parishes to all who will come to hear them? Besides, if all people were of the same opinion, the remedy would be

^b Collins, p. 99.

^c P. 101.

worse than the disease; I will tell you the reason some other time.

Besides, difference in opinion, especially in matters of great moment, breeds no confusion at all. Witness Papist and Protestant, Roundhead and Cavalier, and Whig and Tory, now among us. I observe, the *Turkish* Empire is more at peace *within itself* than Christian Princes are *with one another*. Those noble *Turkish* virtues of charity and toleration are what contribute chiefly to the flourishing state of that happy Monarchy. There *Christians* and *Jews* are tolerated, and live at ease, if they can hold their tongues and *think freely*, provided they never set foot within the Mosques, nor write against *Mahomet*. A few plunderings now and then by their Janissaries are all they have to fear.

It is objected, that, by *Free-thinking*, men will *think* themselves into Atheism; and indeed I have allowed all along, that Atheistical Books convert men to *Free-thinking*. But suppose that be true, I can bring you two Divines, who affirm Superstition and Enthusiasm to be worse than Atheism, and more mischievous to society: and, in short, it is necessary that the bulk of the people should be Atheists or superstitious.

It is objected, that Priests ^d ought to be relied on by the people, as Lawyers and Physicians, because it is their faculty. I answer, it is true, a man who is no Lawyer is not suffered to plead for himself; but every man may be his own Quack if he pleases, and he only ventures his life; but, in the other case, the Priest tells him he must be damned: therefore do not trust the Priest, but *think freely* for yourself; and, if you happen to think there is no Hell, there certainly is none, and consequently you cannot be damned. I answer further, that wherever there is

^d Collins, p. 107.

no Lawyer, Physician, or Priest, that country is Paradise. Besides, all Priests (except the orthodox, and those are not ours, nor any that I know) are hired by the publick to lead men into mischief: but Lawyers and Physicians are not; you hire them yourself.

It is objected^e (by Priests, no doubt, but I have forgot their names) that false speculations are necessary to be imposed upon men, in order to assist the magistrate in keeping the peace; and that men ought therefore to be deceived, like children, for their own good. I answer, that zeal for imposing speculations, whether true or false (under which name of speculations I include all opinions of Religion, as the belief of a God, Providence, immortality of the soul, future rewards and punishments, &c.), has done more hurt than it is possible for Religion to do good. It puts us to the charge of maintaining ten thousand priests in *England*, which is a burthen upon society never felt on any other occasion; and a greater evil to the publick than if these Ecclesiasticks were only employed in the most innocent offices of life, which I take to be *eating* and *drinking*^f. Now, if you offer to impose any thing on mankind besides what relates to moral duties, as to pay your debts, not pick pockets, nor commit murder, and the like; that is to say, if, besides this, you oblige them to believe in God and *Jesus Christ*^g; what you add to their faith will take just so much off from their morality. By this argument, it is manifest that a perfect moral man must be a perfect Atheist; every inch of Religion he gets, loses him an inch of morality: for there is a certain *quantum* belongs to every man, of which there is nothing to spare. This is clear from the common practice of all our priests: they never once preach to you, to love your neighbour, to be

^e Collins, p. 111.

^f P. 114.

^g P. 115.

just in your dealings, or to be sober and temperate. The streets of *London* are full of common whores^b, publicly tolerated in their wickedness; yet the Priests make no complaints against this enormity, either from the pulpit or the press: I can affirm, that neither you nor I, Sir, have ever heard one Sermon against whoring since we were boys. No, the Priests allow all these vices, and love us the better for them, provided we will promise not to "harangue upon a Text," nor to sprinkle a little water in a child's face, which they call baptizing, and would engross it all to themselves.

Besides, the Priests engage all the rogues, villains, and fools, in their party, in order to make it as large as they can; by this means they seduced *Constantine* the Great over to their religionⁱ, who was the first Christian Emperor, and so horrible a villain, that the Heathen Priests told him they could not expiate his crimes in their Church; so he was at a loss to know what to do, till an *Ægyptian* Bishop assured him that there was no villainy so great, but was to be expiated by the Sacraments of the Christian Religion; upon which he became a Christian, and to him that Religion owes its first settlement.

It is objected^k, that *Free-thinkers* themselves are the most infamous, wicked, and senseless, of all mankind.

I answer, first, we say the same of Priests and other believers. But the truth is, men of all sects are equally good and bad; for no Religion whatsoever contributes in the least to mend mens lives.

I answer, secondly, that *Free-thinkers* use their understanding; but those who have Religion do not:

^b *Collins*, p. 116. ⁱ P. 117.—See many curious particulars of this illustrious Emperor, in *Dr. Fortin's* "Remarks on Ecclesiastical History," Book III.

^k *Collins*, p. 118.

therefore the first have more understanding than the others; witness *Toland*, *Tindal*, *Gildon*, *Clendon*¹, *Coward*^m, and myself. For, use legs, and have legs.

¹ *John Clendon*, esq; of *The Middle Temple*, published, in 1709-10, "*Tractatus Philosophico-Theologicus de Personâ*; or, a Treatise of the Word PERSON." This singular book (to which the Author prefixed Two distinct Dedications, one to lord chancellor *Cowper*, the other to *Charles* earl of *Sunderland*) appears to have been written principally to prove, that the doctrine of the TRINITY was very well explained by an act of parliament, 9 & 10 *Will. III.*—It was complained of in the house of commons, *March* 25, 1710; and was judged to be a scandalous, seditious, and blasphemous libel, highly reflecting upon the Christian Religion and Church of *England*, and tending to promote Atheism, Schism, and Immorality, and to create factions and divisions among Her Majesty's subjects; and was accordingly burnt by the common hangman, at the same time with *Tindal's* "*Rights*."—"*The Socinian Controversy fully discussed, in six Dialogues*; with an Answer to Mr. *Clendon's* Book *De Personâ*," was published by Mr. *Leslie*.

^m *William Coward*, a native of *Winchester*, became a commoner of *Hart Hall* in *May* 1674; and was admitted a scholar of *Wadham College* in 1675. He took his Doctor's degree in physic, *July* 2, 1687; and, having practised a while at *Northampton*, came to *London* in 1693. He translated "*Absalom and Achitophel*" into *Latin* verse in 1682; for which, *Wood* says; "he was schooled in the College." Dr. *Coward* was author of "*Meditations of a Divine Soul*, 1703;" of "*Holy Thoughts on a God made Man*, &c. 1704;" of "*The Grand Essay; or a Vindication of Reason and Religion, against Impostures of Philosophy*, &c. By *W. C. M. D. C. M. L. C.*;" of "*A just Scrutiny into the modern Notions of the Soul*, &c.;" and from these, and some other publications, hath been denominated a *Free-thinker*. He was likewise author of "*The Lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, an heroic Poem, 1705;" and of "*The true Test of Poetry*, 1709."

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I answer, thirdlyⁿ, that *Free-thinkers* are the most virtuous persons in the world; for every *Free-thinker* must certainly differ from the Priests, and from nine hundred ninety-nine of a thousand of those among whom they live; and are therefore virtuous of course, because every body hates them.

I answer, fourthly^o, that the most virtuous people in all ages have been *Free-thinkers*; of which I shall produce several instances.

Socrates was a *Free-thinker*; for he disbelieved the gods of his country; and the common Creeds about them; and declared his dislike^p when he heard men attribute "repentance, anger, and other passions, "to the gods, and talk of wars and battles in "heaven, and of the gods getting women with "child," and such-like fabulous and blasphemous stories. I pick out these particulars, because they are the very same with what the Priests have in their Bibles, where *repentance* and *anger* are attributed to God; where it is said, there was "war in Heaven;" and that "the Virgin *Mary* was with child by the "Holy Ghost," whom the Priests call God; all fabulous and blasphemous stories^q. Now I affirm *Socrates* to have been a true Christian. You will ask perhaps how that can be, since he lived three or four hundred years before *Christ*? I answer, with *Justin Martyr*, that *Christ* is nothing else but *Reason*; and I hope you do not think *Socrates* lived before *Reason*. Now, this true Christian *Socrates* never made notions, speculations, or mysteries, any part of his Religion; but demonstrated all men to be fools who troubled themselves with enquiries into heavenly things. Lastly, it is plain that *Socrates* was a *Free-*

ⁿ Collins, p. 120.

^o P. 122.

^p P. 123.

^q It is doubtless unnecessary to observe, that these passages are deduced from the Discourse of Mr. Collins, p. 123, 124.

thinker, because he was calumniated for an Atheist, as *Free-thinkers* generally are, only because he was an enemy to all speculations and enquiries into heavenly things. For I argue thus, that, if I never trouble myself to think whether there be a God or no, and forbid others to do it, I am a *Free-thinker*, but not an Atheist.

Plato was a *Free-thinker*^r; and his notions are so like some in the Gospel, that a Heathen charged *Christ* with borrowing his doctrine from *Plato*. But *Origen* defends *Christ* very well against this charge, by saying he did not understand *Greek*, and therefore could not borrow his doctrines from *Plato*. However, their two religions agreed so well, that it was common for Christians to turn *Platonists*, and *Platonists* Christians. When the Christians found out this, one of their zealous Priests (worse than any Atheist) forged several things under *Plato's* name, but conformable to Christianity, by which the Heathens were fraudulently converted.

Epicurus was the greatest of all *Free-thinkers*^s, and consequently the most virtuous man in the world. His opinions in Religion were the most compleat system of Atheism that ever appeared. Christians ought to have the greatest veneration for him, because he taught a higher point of virtue than *Christ*; I mean, the virtue of Friendship, which, in the sense we usually understand it, is not so much as named in the New Testament.

Plutarch was a *Free-thinker*^t, notwithstanding his being a Priest; but indeed he was a Heathen Priest. His *Free-thinking* appears by shewing the innocence of Atheism (which at worst is only false reasoning) and the mischiefs of Superstition; and he explains what Superstition is, by calling it a conceit of immortal ills after death, the opinion of Hell-torments,

^r Collins, p. 126.

^s P. 129.

^t P. 131.
dread-

dreadful aspects, doleful groans, and the like. He is likewise very satirical upon the public forms of devotion in his own country (a qualification absolutely necessary to a *Free-thinker*); yet those forms which he ridicules are the very same that now pass for *true worship* in almost all countries: I am sure, some of them do so in ours; such as abject looks, distortions, wry faces, beggarly tones, humiliation, and contrition.

Varro^u, the most learned among the *Romans*, was a *Free-thinker*; for he said, the Heathen Divinity contained many fables below the dignity of immortal beings; such, for instance, as Gods BEGOTTEN and PROCEEDING from other Gods. These two words I desire you will particularly remark, because they are the very terms made use of by our Priests in their doctrine of the Trinity. He says likewise, that there are many things false in Religion, and so say all *Free-thinkers*; but then he adds, "which the vulgar ought not to know, but it is expedient they should believe." In this last he indeed discovers the whole secret of a Statesman and Politician, by denying the vulgar the privilege of *Free-thinking*; and here I differ from him. However, it is manifest from hence, that the Trinity was an invention of Statesmen and Politicians.

The grave and wise *Cato* the Censor^w will for ever live in that noble *free-thinking* saying—"I wonder," said he, "how one of your Priests can forbear laughing when he sees another!" (for contempt of Priests is another grand characteristic of a *Free-thinker*.) This shews that *Cato* understood the whole mystery of the *Roman* "Religion as by law established." I beg you, Sir, not to overlook these last words, "Religion as by law established." I

^u Collins, p. 134.

^w P. 135.

"trans-

translate *Haruspex* into the general word, *Priest*. Thus I apply the sentence to our Priests in *England*; and, when Dr. *Smallridge* sees Dr. *Atterbury*, I wonder how either of them can forbear laughing at the cheat they put upon the people, by making them believe their "Religion as by law established."

Cicero, that consummate Philosopher and noble Patriot, though he were a Priest, and consequently more likely to be a knave, gave the greatest proofs of his *Free-thinking*. First, he professed the Sceptic Philosophy, which doubts of every thing. Then, he wrote two Treatises; in the first, he shews the weakness of the Stoicks' arguments for the being of the Gods: in the latter, he has destroyed the whole *revealed* Religion of the *Greeks* and *Romans*: (for why should not theirs be a *revealed* Religion as well as that of *Christ*?) *Cicero* likewise tells us, as his own opinion, that they who study Philosophy do not believe there are any Gods: he denies the immortality of the soul, and says there can be nothing after death.

And because the Priests * have the impudence to quote *Cicero*, in their pulpits and pamphlets, against *Free-thinking*; I am resolved to disarm them of his authority. You must know, his philosophical works are generally in Dialogues, where people are brought in disputing against one another. Now the Priests, when they see an argument to prove a God, offered perhaps by a Stoick, are such knaves or blockheads to quote it as if it were *Cicero's* own; whereas *Cicero* was so noble a *Free-thinker*, that he believed nothing at all of the matter, nor ever shews the least inclination to favour superstition, or the belief of God and the immortality of the soul; unless what he throws out sometimes to save himself from danger,

* Collins, p. 137.

in his speeches to the *Roman* mob; whose Religion was, however, much more innocent, and less absurd, than that of Popery at least: and I could say more—but you understand me.

Seneca was a great *Free-thinker* ^y, and had a noble notion of the worship of the Gods, for which our Priests would call any man an Atheist: he laughs at morning devotions, or worshipping upon Sabbath-days: he says, God has no need of Ministers and Servants, because he himself *serves* mankind. This religious man, like his religious brethren the Stoicks, denies the immortality of the soul; and says, all that is feigned to be so terrible in Hell is but a fable: death puts an end to all our misery, &c. Yet the Priests were anciently so fond of *Seneca*, that they forged a correspondence of letters between him and *St. Paul*.

Solomon himself ^z, whose writings are called “the word of God,” was such a *Free-thinker*, that, if he were now alive, nothing but his building of Churches could have kept our Priests from calling him an Atheist. He affirms the eternity of the world almost in the same manner with *Manilius* the Heathen Philosophical Poet (which opinion entirely overthrows the History of the Creation by *Moses*, and all the New Testament): he denies the immortality of the soul, assures us “that men die like beasts,” and “that both go to one place.”

The Prophets of the Old Testament ^a were generally *Free-thinkers*. You must understand, that their way of learning to prophesy was by Music and Drinking. These Prophets wrote against the Established Religion of the *Jews* (which those people looked upon as the institution of God himself), as if they believed it was all a cheat: that is to say,

^y *Collins*, p. 147.

^z P. 150.

^a P. 153.

with as great liberty against the Priests and Prophets of *Israel*, as Dr. *Tindal* did lately against the Priests and Prophets of our *Israel*, who has clearly shewn them and their Religion to be cheats. To prove this, you may read several passages in *Isaiab*, *Ezekiel*, *Amos*, *Jeremiab*, &c. wherein you will find such instances of *Free-thinking*, that, if any *Englishman*^b had talked so in our days, their opinions would have been registered in Dr. *Sacheverell's* Trial and in the Representation of the Lower House of Convocation, and produced as so many proofs of the prophane-ness, blasphemy, and atheism, of the nation; there being nothing more prophane, blasphemous, or atheistical, in those representations, than what these Prophets have spoken, whose writings are yet called by our Priests "the word of God." And therefore these Prophets are as much Atheists as myself, or as any of my *free-thinking* brethren whom I lately named to you.

Josephus was a great *Free-thinker*^c. I wish he had chosen a better subject to write on, than those ignorant, barbarous, ridiculous scoundrels the *Jews*, whom God (if we may believe the Priests) thought fit to chuse for his own people. I will give you some instances of his *Free-thinking*^d. He says, *Cain* travelled through several countries, and kept company with rakes and profligate fellows; he corrupted the simplicity of former times, &c. which plainly supposes men before *Adam*, and consequently that the Priests' History of the Creation by *Moses* is an imposture. He says, the *Israelites* passing through the *Red Sea* was no more than *Alexander's* passing at the *Pamphilian Sea*; that as for the appearance of God at *Mount Sinai*, the Reader may believe it as he pleases; that *Moses* persuaded the *Jews* he had God

^b *Collins*, p. 157.

^c P. 157.

^d P. 158.

for his guide^e, just as the *Greeks* pretended they had their laws from *Apollo*. These are noble strains of *Free-thinking*, which the Priests know not how to solve, but by *thinking as freely*; for one of them says, that *Josephus* wrote this to make his Work acceptable to the Heathens, by striking out every thing that was incredible.

Origen^f, who was the first Christian that had any learning, has left a noble testimony of his *Free-thinking*: for a General Council has determined him to be damned; which plainly shews he was a *Free-thinker*, and was no *Saint*; for people were only sainted because of their want of learning and excess of zeal; so that all the Fathers who are called Saints by the Priests were worse than Atheists.

Minucius Felix^g seems to be a true, modern, latitudinarian, *Free-thinking* Christian; for he is against Altars, Churches, public Preaching, and public Assemblies; and likewise against Priests; for, he says, there were several great flourishing Empires before there were any orders of Priests in the world.

Synefius^h, who had too much learning and too little zeal for a Saint, was for some time a great *Free-thinker*; he could not believe the Resurrection till he was made a Bishop, and then pretended to be convinced by a lying miracle.

To come to our own country. My Lord *Bacon*ⁱ was a great *Free-thinker*, when he tells us, " that
" what-

^e *Collins*, p. 161.

^f P. 162.

^g P. 164.

^h P. 165.

ⁱ This great man was born *Jan. 22, 1561*; made judge of the marshal's court, in *1611*; attorney general, in *1613*; admitted a privy counsellor, *June 9, 1616*; lord keeper, *March 7, 1617*; lord *Verulam*, *July 11*. He was accused of bribery and corruption; and received sentence, *May 3, 1621*. He died *April 9, 1626*. Bp. *Clayton* says, " Lord *Bacon* had too much learning and too much honesty to
" be

“ whatever has the least relation to Religion is particularly liable to suspicion ;” by which he seems to suspect all the facts whereon most of the superstitions (that is to say, what the Priests call the Religions) of the world are grounded. He also prefers Atheism before Superstition.

Mr. *Hobbes*^k was a person of great learning, virtue, and *Free-thinking*, except in his High-church politicks.

But

“ be a favourite with the clergy of those days ; and that to their influence with King *James* he probably owed his disgrace, and was pitched upon as a scape-goat, to save the head of *Buckingham*.”—Whatever censure may be passed on the moral or political conduct of lord *Bacon*, his works will always hold a foremost rank among the greatest of our *English* writers. A complete edition of them was published by Mr. *Mallet*, in 1765, in five volumes, 4to.

^k *Thomas Hobbes*, born at *Malmesbury*, April 5, 1588, was sent in 1603 to *Magdalen Hall, Oxford*; and in 1608 taken into the family of lord *Hardwicke* (soon after created earl of *Devonshire*) as tutor to his son, with whom he made the tour of *Italy* and *France*. On his return, he became known to many who were of the highest rank and eminently distinguished for parts and learning. Lord chancellor *Bacon* admitted him to a great degree of familiarity; he was much in favour with lord *Herbert of Cherbury*; and was particularly esteemed by *Ben Jonson*, who revised the first work which he published, an *English* translation of *Thucydides*. His patron dying in 1626, and the young earl in 1628, Mr. *Hobbes* went abroad a second time, with Sir *Gervase Clifton*. In 1631, the countess of *Devonshire* put the third earl, then about 13, under his care; whom he accompanied in his travels from 1634 to 1637. On the breaking out of the civil war, he withdrew to *Paris*, and continued there ten years; in which time he wrote many works, particularly his famous book “ *De Cive* ;” and his “ *Leviathan*,” printed at *London* in 1650. After the publication of the latter, he returned to *England*, and passed the summer commonly at *Chatfworth*,

But Archbishop *Tillotson* is the person whom all *English Free-thinkers* own as their head; and his virtue

worth, the seat of his patron; and his winters in town, where *Harvey*, *Selden*, and *Cowley*, were his intimate friends. In 1672, he wrote his own life in *Latin* verse; and in 1675 published a translation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in which he did as much injury to *Homer*, as he had before done justice to *Thucydides*. In 1674, taking leave of *London*, he went to spend the remainder of his days in *Derbyshire*: where, notwithstanding his great age, he published from time to time several pieces, particularly a poem, "De Mirabilibus Pecci," the best of his poetical performances. In *June*, 1674, he sent his "Behemoth" to a bookseller, not to be published till a proper occasion offered. This appeared soon after his death, which happened on the 4th of *December* following, at the age of 92. His character and manners are described by Dr. *Kennet*, in the *Memoirs* of the *Cavendish* Family, annexed to the *Funeral Sermon* on *William Duke of Devonshire*. See Dr. *W. King's* Works, vol. III. p. 37.—Mr. *Hobbes's* Writings, both in his life-time and since his death, have been treated with great severity. It is certain his notions concerning civil government have the most pernicious tendency. But, notwithstanding the errors in his opinions are many and great, he will ever be esteemed a man of very extensive genius. A Writer, to whose sentiments much deference ought to be paid, speaking of him, says, "But here let us do justice to that great man's memory, at a time his Writings seem to be entirely neglected, who, with all his errors, and those of the most dangerous nature, we must allow to be one of the first men of his age, for a bright wit, a deep penetration, and a cultivated understanding: several of whose uncommon speculations, while they remained with him, lay unregarded; but when taken up by others, of whom we deservedly have a better opinion, received their due applause and approbation. The learned reader sees I have Mr. *Locke* principally in my eye; and, indeed, that incomparable man received no small assistance from Mr. *Hobbes's* notions. I could name several, upon
" which

tue is indisputable, for this manifest reason, that Dr. *Hickes*¹, a Priest, calls him an Atheist; says, he caused

“ which Mr. *Locke* values himself, as discoveries and improvements in knowledge; but which he really borrowed from the other, though admirably improved, and carried to a greater length: for that other haughty man was concise and dogmatical, and breathed the exact spirit of his master *Lucretius*. But to mention one only, and that Mr. *Locke*'s assertion, *That Liberty belongs not to the Will*; the finest, and (as he confesses in a Letter to P. *Limborch*) the most intricate Dissertation of any in his Essay. This his predecessor had before asserted in his *Leviathan*.” See Bp. *Warburton*'s *Miscellaneous Translations*, &c. 1724, p. 123.—*Cowley* addressed an Ode to Mr. *Hobbes*, in an exaggerated strain of panegyrick; in which, however, (as the Right Reverend Editor of his “*Select Works*” well observes) “ he does but justice to the vigour of his sense, and the manly elegance of his style; for the latter of which qualities, chiefly, his philosophic writings are now valuable.”

¹ Dr. *George Hickes*, born June 20, 1642, was entered of *St. John's College, Oxford*, in 1659. After the Restoration, he removed to *Magdalen College*, and thence to *Magdalen Hall*; and at length, in 1664, was chosen fellow of *Lincoln College*. He was made chaplain to the duke of *Lauderdale* in 1676; who took him next year into *Scotland*, where he received the degree of D. D. in a manner particularly honourable to him. He was promoted to a prebend of *Worcester* in March, 1679-80; made chaplain to the King in 1681; and dean of *Worcester* in August 1683. At the Revolution, refusing with many others to take the oaths, he fell under suspension in August 1689, and was deprived in February following. He continued in possession, however, till May; when, reading in the *Gazette* that his deanry was granted to Mr. *William Talbot* (afterward successively bishop of *Oxford, Salisbury*, and *Durham*), he immediately drew up, in his own handwriting, a claim of right to it, directed to all the members of that church, and in 1691 affixed it over the entrance into the choir. The earl of *Nottingham*, then secretary of state, called this “*Dr. Hickes's Manifesto*” against

caused several to turn Atheists^m, and to ridicule the Priesthood and Religion. These must be allowed to be noble effects of *Free-thinking*. This great Prelate assures us, that all the duties of the Christian Religion, with respect to God, are no other but what natural light prompts men to, except the two Sacraments, and praying to God in the name and mediation of *Christ*. As a Priest and Prelate, he was obliged to say something of Christianity; but pray observe, Sir, how he brings himself off. He justly affirms, that even these things are of less moment than natural duties; and because mothers nursing their children is a natural duty, it is of more moment than the two Sacraments, or than praying to God in the name and by the mediation of *Christ*. This *Free-thinking* Archbishopⁿ could not allow a Miracle sufficient to give credit to a Prophet who taught any thing contrary to our natural notions. by which, it is plain, he rejected at once all the mysteries of Christianity.

I could name one-and-twenty more great Men, who were all *Free-thinkers*, but that I fear to be

“ against Government.” From this time he was under the necessity of absconding till May 18, 1699, when lord Somers obtained an act of council for a *Noli prosequi*. He was in the mean time consecrated, Feb. 4, 1693-4, among the Nonjurors, suffragan bishop of *Thetford*. Some years before he died, he was grievously tormented with the stone; and at length his constitution, though naturally very strong, gave way to that distemper, Dec. 15, 1715.— He was a man of universal learning, and particularly skilful in the old Northern languages and antiquities; and has given us some writings in this way, which will probably be valued when all his other works (consisting principally of controversial pieces on politicks and religion) are forgotten. He was also deeply read in the primitive Fathers of the Church, whom he considered as the best expositors of Scripture.

^m Collins, p. 172.

ⁿ P. 174.

tedious; for it is certain that all men of sense depart from the opinions commonly received^{*}; and are consequently more or less men of sense, according as they depart more or less from the opinions commonly received: neither can you name an enemy to *Free-thinking*, however he be dignified or distinguished, whether Archbishop, Bishop, Priest, or Deacon^p, who has not been either “ a crack-brained enthusiast, a “ diabolical villain, or a most profound ignorant “ brute.”

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to execute your commands; and you may print this Letter if you please: but I would have you conceal your name. For my opinion of Virtue is, that we ought not to venture doing ourselves harm, by endeavouring to do good. I am,

Yours, &c.

^{*} *Collins*, p. 177.

^p P. 178.

CONCLUSION.

I HAVE here given the Publick a brief, but faithful, Abstract of this *most excellent* Essay; wherein I have all along religiously adhered to our Author's notions, and generally to his words, without any other addition than that of explaining a few necessary consequences, for the sake of ignorant Readers; for, to those who have the *least* degree of learning, I own, they will be wholly useless. I hope I have not, in any single instance, misrepresented the thoughts of this admirable Writer. If I have happened to mistake through inadvertency, I entreat he will condescend to inform me, and point out the place; upon which, I will immediately beg pardon both of him and the world. The design of his piece is to recommend *Free-thinking*; and one chief motive is the example of many excellent men who were of that sect. He produces as the principal points of their *Free-thinking*, that they denied the being of a God, the torments of Hell, the immortality of the Soul, the Trinity, Incarnation, the History of the Creation by *Moses*, with many other such "fabulous" and blasphemous stories," as he *judiciously* calls them: and he asserts, that whoever denies the most of these is the compleatest *Free-thinker*, and consequently the wisest and most virtuous man.

The Author, sensible of the prejudices of the age, does not directly affirm himself an Atheist; he goes no further than to pronounce that Atheism is the most perfect degree of *Free-thinking*; and leaves the Reader to form the conclusion. However, he seems to al-

low that a man may be a tolerable *Free-thinker*, though he does believe a God ; provided he utterly rejects " Providence, Revelation, the Old and New Testament, Future Rewards and Punishments, the Immortality of the Soul," and other the like impossible absurdities. Which mark of superabundant caution, sacrificing *Truth* to the *Superstition* of Priests, may perhaps be *forgiven*, but ought not to be *imitated* by any who would arrive (even in this Author's judgment) at the true perfection of *Free-thinking* &c.

¶ Here, as in some other parts of this parody, the irony is palpable enough ; and yet we think this species of writing not the best adapted to expose even the fallacy of misrepresenting sacred subjects. False philosophy, like folly, is undoubtedly an object of ridicule ; but irreligion, like vice, is too criminal to be laughed at, or treated as mere absurdity.

S O M E

SOME THOUGHTS

ON

FREE-THINKING.

Written in ENGLAND, but left unfinished.

DISCOURSING one day with a prelate of the kingdom of *Ireland*, who is a person of excellent wit and learning, he offered a notion applicable to the subject we were then upon, which I took to be altogether new and right. He said, “ That the difference betwixt a mad-man and one by his wits, “ in what related to speech, consisted in this; that “ the former spoke out whatever came into his mind, “ and just in the confused manner as his imagination “ presented the ideas: the latter only expressed such “ thoughts as his judgement directed him to chuse, “ leaving the rest to die away in his memory; and “ that if the wisest man would at any time utter “ his thoughts in the crude indigested manner as “ they come into his head, he would be looked upon “ as raving-mad.” And, indeed, when we consider our thoughts as they are the seeds of words and actions, we cannot but agree that they ought to be kept under the strictest regulation; and that, in the great multiplicity of ideas which one’s mind is apt to form, there is nothing more difficult than to select those which are most proper for the conduct of life. So that I cannot imagine what is meant by the mighty zeal in some people for asserting the freedom of thinking; because, if such thinkers keep their

thoughts within their own breasts, they can be of no consequence, further than to themselves. If they publish them to the world, they ought to be answerable for the effects their thoughts produce upon others. There are thousands in this kingdom, who, in their thoughts, prefer a republick, or absolute power of a prince, before a limited monarchy; yet, if any of these should publish their opinions, and go about, by writing or discourse, to persuade the people to innovations in government, they would be liable to the severest punishments the law can inflict: and therefore they are usually so wise as to keep their sentiments to themselves. But, with respect to religion, the matter is quite otherwise: and the publick, at least here in *England*, seems to be of opinion with *Tiberius*, that *deorum injuriæ diis cura*. They leave it to God Almighty to vindicate the injuries done to himself, who is no doubt sufficiently able, by perpetual miracles, to revenge the affronts of impious men. And it should seem that is what princes expect from him; though I cannot readily conceive the grounds they go upon: nor why, since they are God's vice-gerents, they do not think themselves, at least, equally obliged to preserve their Master's honour as their own; since this is what they expect from those they depute, and since they never fail to represent the disobedience of their subjects as offences against God. It is true, the visible reason of this neglect is obvious enough: the consequences of atheistical opinions published to the world are not so immediate, or so sensible, as doctrines of rebellion and sedition, spread in a proper season. However, I cannot but think the same consequences are as natural and probable for the former, though more remote: and whether these have not been in view among our great planters of infidelity in *England*, I shall hereafter examine.

A SKETCH

A S K E T C H

O F

The Character of ARISTOTLE ^a.

ARISTOTLE, the disciple of *Plato*, and tutor to *Alexander the Great*. His followers were called *Peripateticks*, from a Greek word which signifies *to walk*, because he taught his disciples *walking*. We have not all his works; and some of those which are imputed to him are supposed not genuine. He writ upon logick, or the art of reasoning; upon *moral* and *natural philosophy*; upon *oratory*, *poetry*, &c. and seems to be a person of the most comprehensive genius that ever lived.

^a This fragment is preserved in the Essay of *Deane Swift*, esq; who tells us, " he transcribed it without any variation; and that he found it by accident in a little book of instructions which Dr. *Swift* was pleased to draw up for the use of a lady, enjoining her to get it all by heart."—Having mentioned the character given by the Dean of this philosopher in the *Battle of the Books*, Mr. *Swift* observes, " The portrait of *Aristotle* is equally strong and masterly; he stooped much, and made use of a staff; that is, he thought, he considered, he ruminated; he pondered deeply on the most intricate and abstruse points relating to the sciences; and, by the force of reasoning, which is meant by his staff, he cleared his way through briars and thorns, until he struck into the road which leads to science and philosophy. The remaining part of *Aristotle's* portrait is only the representation of an abstracted scholar, worn away and decayed with years, hard study, nocturnal lubrications, and want of bodily exercise." *Essay*, p. 283.

A N E S S A Y

O N

NATIONAL REWARDS.

Being a Propofal ^a for beftowing them on
a Plan more durable and refpectable.

First printed in THE GUARDIAN, July 1, 1713.

Cuncti adfint, meritæque expectent præmia palmæ. VIRG.

THERE is no maxim in politicks more indisputable, than that a nation should have many honours to referve for thofe who do national fervices. This raifes emulation, cherifhes public merit, and infpires every one with an ambition which promotes the good of his country. The lefs expenfive thefe honours are to the publick, the more ftill do they turn to its advantage,

The *Romans* abounded with thefe little honorary rewards, that, without conferring wealth and riches, gave only place and diftinction to the perfon who received them. An oaken garland, to be worn on feftivals and public ceremonies, was the glorious recompence of one who had covered a citizen in battle. A foldier would not only venture his life for a mural crown, but think the moft hazardous enterprife fufficiently repaid by fo noble a donation.

^a The propofal was the production of Dr. *Swift*; and the introduction to it was written by Mr. *Addifon*.

But,

But, among all honorary rewards, which are neither dangerous nor detrimental to the donor, I remember none so remarkable as the titles which are bestowed by the emperor of *China*. "These are never given to any subject," says M. *Le Conte*, "till the subject is dead. If he has pleased his emperor to the last, he is called in all public memorials by the title which the emperor confers on him after his death, and his children take their ranks accordingly." This keeps the *ambitious* subject in a perpetual dependance, making him always vigilant and active, and in every thing conformable to the will of his sovereign.

There are no honorary rewards among us which are more esteemed by the person who receives them, and are cheaper to the prince, than the giving of *medals*. But there is something in the modern manner of celebrating a great action on *medals*, which makes such a reward much less valuable than it was among the *Romans*. There is generally but *one coin* stamped upon the occasion, which is made a present to the person who is celebrated on it. By this means the whole fame is in his custody. The applause that is bestowed upon him is too much limited and confined. He is in possession of an honour which the world perhaps knows nothing of. He may be a great man in his own family: his wife and children may see the monument of an exploit, which the publick in a little time is a stranger to. The *Romans* took a quite different method in this particular. Their *medals* were their *current money*. When an action deserved to be recorded on a coin, it was stamped perhaps upon an hundred thousand pieces of money, like our shillings or halfpence, which were issued out of the mint, and became current. This method published every noble action to advantage, and in a short space of time spread through the whole *Roman* empire. The *Romans* were so careful

ful to preserve the memory of great events upon their coins, that, when any particular piece of money grew very scarce, it was often re-coined by a succeeding emperor, many years after the death of the emperor to whose honour it was first struck.

A friend of mine drew up a project of this kind during the late ministry; which would then have been put in execution, had it not been too busy a time for thoughts of that nature. As this project has been very much talked of by the gentleman above-mentioned to men of the greatest genius as well as quality, I am informed there is now a design on foot for executing the proposal which was then made, and that we shall have several farthings and halfpence charged on the reverse with many of the glorious particulars of her majesty's reign. This is one of those arts of peace which may very well deserve to be cultivated, and which may be of great use to posterity.

As I have in my possession the copy of the paper above-mentioned, which was delivered to the late lord treasurer ^b, I shall here give the publick a sight of it; for I do not question but that the curious part of my readers will be very well pleased to see so much matter, and so many useful hints upon this subject, laid together in so clear and concise a manner:

“ The *English* have not been so careful as other
 “ polite nations to preserve the memory of their
 “ great actions and events on *medals*. Their subjects

^b Hence it appears that the proposal had been made by Dr. *Swift* to lord *Godolphin*. And in the Journal to *Stella*, Jan. 4, 1712-13, we find it patronized by the earl of *Oxford*: “ Lord Treasurer has at last fallen-in with my
 “ project (as he calls it) of coining half-pence and farthings
 “ with devices like medals, in honour of the queen, every
 “ year changing the device.”

ON NATIONAL REWARDS. 315

“ are few, their mottoes and devices mean, and the
“ coins themselves not numerous enough to spread
“ among the people, or descend to posterity.

“ The *French* have outdone us in these particulars;
“ and, by the establishment of a society for the in-
“ vention of proper inscriptions and designs, have
“ the whole history of their present king in a re-
“ gular series of *medals*.

“ They have failed, as well as the *English*, in
“ coining so small a number of each kind; and
“ those of such costly metals that each species may
“ be lost in a few ages, and is at present no where
“ to be met with but in the cabinets of the curious.

“ The ancient *Romans* took the only effectual
“ method to disperse and preserve their *medals*, by
“ making them their *current money*.

“ Every thing glorious or useful, as well in peace
“ as war, gave occasion to a different coin. Not
“ only an expedition, victory, or triumph, but the
“ exercise of a solemn devotion, the remission of a
“ duty or tax, a new temple, sea-port, or high-way,
“ were transmitted to posterity after this manner.

“ The greatest variety of devices are on their
“ *copper money*, which have most of the designs that
“ are to be met with on the *gold* and *silver*, and se-
“ veral peculiar to that metal only. By this means
“ they were dispersed into the remotest corners
“ of the empire, came into the possession of the
“ poor as well as rich, and were in no danger of
“ perishing in the hands of those that might have
“ melted down coins of a more valuable metal.

“ Add to all this, that the designs were invented
“ by men of genius, and executed by a decree of
“ senate.

“ It is therefore proposed ;

“ 1. That the *English* farthings and half-pence be
“ re-coined, upon the Union of the two nations.

“ 2. That

“ 2. That they bear devices and inscriptions alluding to all the most remarkable parts of her majesty’s reign.

“ 3. That there be a society established, for the finding out of proper subjects, inscriptions, and devices.

“ 4. That no subject, inscription, or device, be stamped without the approbation of this society; nor, if it be thought proper, without the authority of privy council.

“ By this means, *medals*, that are at present only a dead treasure, or mere curiosities, will be of use in the ordinary commerce of life; and, at the same time, perpetuate the glories of her majesty’s reign, reward the labours of her greatest subjects, keep alive in the people a gratitude for public services, and excite the emulation of posterity. To these generous purposes nothing can so much contribute as *medals* of this kind; which are of undoubted authority, of necessary use and observation, not perishable by time, nor confined to any certain place; properties not to be found in *books, statues, pictures, buildings, or any other monuments of illustrious actions*.”

c It has been ingeniously proposed, to supply the defect of *English medals*, by collections of *engraved portraits*, which, however useful in themselves, have lain under the same prejudices with ancient coins, and have been generally esteemed as little more than empty amusements. For want of regularity, the poetaster frequently takes place of the poet, and the pedant of the man of genius: *John Ogilby* is exalted above Mr. *Dryden*; and *Alexander Ross* (the continuator of *Raleigh’s History*) has the precedence of Sir *Walter*, because engraved by a better hand. Mr. *Evelyn*, in his “*Numismata*,” has recommended such a collection. See the Preface to the late Mr. *Granger’s* very valuable Biographical History.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. 48. *Add to the account of The Medley.* — Mr. *Maynwaring's* "Medley" was laid down, with Dr. *Swift's Examiner*, in the summer of 1711. As *Swift*, however, continued the occasional assistant of *Oldisworth*; so *Maynwaring* was still a contributor to *Oldmixon*, till August 1712; after which period, the "Medley and Flying Post" were jumbled together, and came into the hands of *Ridpath*, as mentioned in p. 48.—At the end of the 25th Medley, May 26th, 1712, appeared the following curiosity: "In a few days will be published, An improvement of the Rev. Dr. *Jonathan Swift's* late proposal to the most honourable the lord high treasurer, for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the *English* tongue; wherein, besides abundance of other particulars, will be more clearly shewn, that to erect an academy of such men, who (by being no Christians) have unhappily prevented their ecclesiastical preferment; or (by being buffoons and scandal-bearers) can never expect the employment of an envoy from those who prefer such services at home, to the doing them no service abroad; and that to give them good pensions is the true and only method towards the end proposed; in a letter to a gentleman, that mistook the Doctor's project." And in the Medley following, stood this advertisement: "Whereas, since my last, there has been published a very ingenious pamphlet, called, "Reflections on Dr. *Swift's* Letter:" This has prevented the coming out of a pamphlet, intituled, "Reasons for not correcting, &c." which was advertised in my paper of Monday last, and was intended to be published the Thursday following."

P. 73. The passage of Mr. *Walpole*, here alluded to, is what follows: — "How lovely does a character burst forth, when the greatest objections to it are, that it was steady to its principles, of universal civility, conscious of an humble birth, of no avarice, of satisfied ambition, that the person so accused did violence to himself to govern his passions, and (one can scarce repeat seriously such a charge!) preferred reading and thinking to the pleasures of conversation! How black
a state!

318 ADDITIONAL NOTES.

“ a statesman, not to be fickle ! How poor a philosopher,
 “ to master his passions, when he could not abdicate
 “ them ! How bad a man, to endeavour to improve his
 “ mind and understanding ! — Can one wonder that lord
 “ *Bolingbroke* and *Pope* always tried to prevent *Swift* from
 “ exposing himself by publishing this wretched ignorant
 “ libel ! and could it avoid falling as it has into im-
 “ mediate contempt and oblivion * ! — However, as the
 “ greatest characters cannot be clear of all alloy, *Swift*
 “ might have known that lord *Somers* was not justifiable
 “ in obtaining some grants of Crown-lands, which, though
 “ in no proportion to other gains in that reign, it would
 “ have become him to resist, not to countenance by his
 “ example.” *Catalogue of Noble Authors*, vol. II. p. 107.

P. 122. Lord *Somers* was the first of the lords intended ;
 the other was lord *Halifax*. — This great man, who was
 grandson to an earl of *Manchester*, was taken much notice
 of at *Cambridge* (whilst Mr. *Charles Montague*) for his
 “ City and Country Mouse,” a satire on Mr. *Dryden*.
 Being brought to court at the Revolution, he was con-
 stituted one of the lords commissioners of the treasury,
March 2, 1691-2 ; chancellor of the exchequer, in *May*,
 1694. The coin being exceedingly debased and diminished,
 he formed the design of calling-in the money, and re-
 coining it, in 1695 ; which was effected in two years : to
 supply the immediate want of cash, he projected the
 issuing of exchequer-bills. For this service, he had the
 thanks of the house of commons in 1697. He was next
 year appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury ;
 and, resigning that post in *June 1700*, obtained a grant of
 the office of auditor of the receipt of the exchequer ; and
 the same year, *Dec. 13*, was created baron *Halifax*. On
 the accession of king *George I*, he was a member of the
 regency ; was appointed first lord commissioner of the
 treasury, *Oct. 5*, 1714 ; created viscount *Sunbury* and earl
 of *Halifax*, *Oct. 15* ; and died *May 15*, 1715. — “ *Ad-*
 “ *dison* has celebrated this lord in his Account of the
 “ greatest *English* Poets. *Steele* has drawn his character
 “ in the second volume of the *Spectator*, and in the fourth

* The prejudice of party, which the best men so difficultly
 avoid, had possibly some share in this hasty condemnation.
 Impartial posterity (which “ *The History of the Four last Years*”
 will certainly instruct) may determine.

“ of

" of the *Tatler*; but *Pope*, in the portrait of *Buso*, in the epistle to *Arbutnot*, has returned the ridicule which his lordship, in conjunction with *Prior*, had heaped on "*Dryden's* Hind and Panther." *Walpole's* Catalogue, vol. II. p. 116.—See a Letter from lord *Halifax* to the Dean, with the Dean's laconic remark, vol. XIX. p. 37.—" He is a great encourager of learning and learned men; is the patron of the Muses; of very agreeable conversation; a short, fat man." *Macky*.—" His encouragements were only good words and dinners; I never heard him say one good thing, or seem to taste what was said by others." *SWIFT*, MS.

Ibid. Mr. *John Gay*, born in 1688, near *Barnstaple* in *Devonshire*, was educated at a free-school there, under an excellent master, who, having been bred at *Westminster*, taught in the method of that school. He was put apprentice to a silk-mercator in *London*; but, the shop soon becoming his aversion, his master was easily induced to give up his indentures. Henceforward devoting himself to the Muses, his open sincerity and undisguised simplicity of manners recommended him to such company as he most affected, particularly to *Swift* and *Pope*. To the latter he addressed, in 1711, his "Rural Sports." In 1712, the dowager dutchess of *Monmouth* having appointed him her secretary or domestic steward, with a handsome salary, he produced his celebrated "*Trivia*," where he acknowledges the help received from Dr. *Swift*; and the following year formed the plan of his Pastorals, that signal instance of his friendship to the Translator of *Homer*. That rural simplicity, neglected by *Pope*, and admired in *Philips*, was found in its true guise only in the "Shepherd's Week." This exquisite piece came out in 1714, with a dedication to lord *Bolingbroke*, which the Dean merrily called "Mr. *Gay's* original sin against the court." He soon after attended the earl of *Clarendon*, as secretary to his embassy at the court of *Hanover*. Queen *Anne* died in fifteen days after his arrival at that place; but his situation made him known to the succeeding royal family. He wrote a compliment on the princess of *Wales's* arrival in *England*, and was favourably received at court. The next winter produced his "What d'ye call it?" which met with great success. In 1716, he visited his native county at the expence of lord *Burlington*, whom he paid

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paid with an humorous account of his journey; as he did Mr. *Fuldeney*, who took him in 1717 to *Aix* in *France*. On his return, he introduced to the stage "Three Hours after Marriage," in which he was assisted by *Pope* and *Arbuthnot*; but on its failure took the blame on himself. In 1720, he recruited his purse, by a handsome subscription to his poems, in two volumes, 4to; but lost all his fortune by the *South Sea* scheme. In 1724, he wrote "The Captives," which he had the honour of reading to queen *Caroline*, then princess of *Wales*; who promised him further marks of favour if he would write some fables in verse for the use of the duke of *Cumberland*; which he performed, and published in 1726. On the accession of king *George II*, he was offered the post of Gentleman Usher to the princess *Louisa*; which he declined accepting, being convinced that it was unworthy his attention. He, however, received some consolation, and a considerable increase both of fortune and reputation, by the performance of *The Beggar's Opera* immediately afterwards. The great advantages arising from this piece induced him to continue the Plan in a second part, which he intitled *Polly*, evidently inferior to the former; and, being excluded the stage, he printed it, obtained a large subscription, and gained also, by the prohibition, the endearing friendship of the duke and dutchess of *Queensberry*. He now set about revising "The Wife of Bath," which had been acted without success some years before; but notwithstanding his reputation stood at its highest point at that time, yet, when the Play appeared in *March* 1729-30, he had the mortification to find it condemned a second time. After this rebuff, the evil spirit of melancholy entered into him, which, with the return of his constitutional distemper the colic, gave a new edge to the sense of his disappointments at court; which he in vain endeavoured to remove, in 1731, by a tour into *Somersetshire*. At lucid intervals, however, he finished the opera of "*Achilles*;" and it was acted with applause after his death, which happened *Dec. 11, 1732*.

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